

THE 4th EDITION
SECRET HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

PART III.

CONTAINING,

- I. A Review of the Reign of King CHARLES II. from the Year 1670, to 1678, taken from the *Memoirs* of a Person of Quality, never before Printed.
- II. The Proceedings of the *Pension Parliament*, with a List of the *Pensioners*, and a State of the *Pensions*.
- III. The *Accounts* the Papists gave of King CHARLES's DEATH, and his dying a PAPIST.
- IV. Several State Letters of the Duke of MONMOUTH, Duke of Albemarle, Bishop of Durham, Bishop of Rochester, Earl of MULGRAVE, and other Persons of Distinction.
- V. The Opposition given to the REVOLUTION, with Lists of such as Voted in Both Houses against it.
- VI. The Articles of the PRIVATE TREATY between the French King and the late King James, upon his going to Ireland in the Year 1689.
- VII. The Attempts of France to engage King WILLIAM in a SEPARATE PEACE, and the several Projects She propos'd for it; Her Intrigues with the Turks, Poles, Hungarians, Germans, the Dukes of Bavaria, Savoy, and Mantua; Her Encroachments on Her Neighbours in Time of PEACE; Her Erecting Chambers of Claims and Re-Unions; the Proceedings in them, &c.

The THIRD EDITION.

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THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF
EUROPE
PART III

CONTAINING



OPTICAL AND ELECTRICAL

PREFACE.

THE
PREFACE.

THE Two former Parts of
this Undertaking having given
Satisfaction to those whom
I courted to please, I was easily per-
suaded by them to continue it, as I
shall now do to the Times in which
I write.

I have in this Third Part been
oblig'd to look back a little into the
Reigns of King Charles II. and
King James II. having met with
several Curious and Important Pa-
sages in a Manuscript written by
a Gentleman, who might very well
have taken this Motto out of Virgil,

----Quæque ipse miserrima vidi
Et quorum pars magna sui. ----

P R E F A C E.

Most of those Passages are so new and so well enlighten'd, that the Reader will, I doubt not, be very willing to excuse the Breach I was forc'd to make in the Order of Chronology, an Error, if it is one, that I shall not hereafter be able to avoid, my Memoirs having been collected by several Persons, at several Times, being very numerous, and not always at Hand: I am therefore glad to meet with any Thing I have not met with before, that tends to set the History of England, since the Restauration, in its true Light; and as I have taken Care to have the Facts well attested, I may be bold to say, that this Period of our History cannot be compleat without these Volumes, especially that part of it which was so confounded by Parties and Factions. The Historians who pretend to that Character, have a great Contempt for Secret Histories: They

PREFACE.

They think there are no Memoirs of any Sanction but the Gazettes and Votes; the Truth is, they have not had the Industry or Opportunity to meet with any other, or else those they met with did not agree with their own Party Opinions, and then they were of course false with them, and thus many Events have been hitherto lost or neglected.

I, who have no expectation from the Publick, but what will arise from the Pleasure of pleasing it, who court no Man's Favour but as a Reader, and fear no Man's Resentment, while I write for our Constitution, do not care under what Denomination I am plac'd, if I have Truth on my side, which I have at no Time willfully or knowingly offended.

The main Objection that has been yet made to this Design and the Performance of it, is, That it is Partial; I must confess, it has no other

P R E F A C E.

giving Offence, may produce something very Common, very Harmless and Insipid, but not worth the Trouble of either Writing or Reading.

I have all along avoided to mention Events made already Publick in our Histories, unless those Events were attended with some Circumstances that are not to be found there; and I shall all along observe the same Method.

I was loath to add any Thing to the Bulk of this Volume, that it might be sizeable with the rest, and must reserve the remainder of my Collections for another Opportunity, which I shall make use of as these meet with Encouragement.

THE

THE
Secret History
OF
EUROPE, &c.

PART III.

I Have had many Opportunities since the publishing my two former Parts of this *History* to hear the Judgment of the Publick of my *Design* and its *Performance*. As the World will not soon be reconcil'd in their Opinion of any one Thing, so I was not surpriz'd to find them differing in their Sentiments of both the *Performance* and the *Design*. I shall not pretend to answ're the Objections of those who did not favour either, contenting my self

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that I had the *Majority* on my side, which I am sure will, at this time of Day, be allow'd to be an infallible Sign of Right and Reason. Only I cannot help expressing the wonderful Pleasure it gave me to see some Persons very fond of themselves, and full of their own Merit, throw away both Parts with an Air of Contempt, as if they had known every Fact before, and could tell where to point to it in History, as easily as to the *Martyrdom of King Charles I.* when I know so many hundreds that 'twas impossible for them to be acquainted with, or improbab-le they should remember, they being either never printed before, or scatter'd up and down in loose Papers, Half Sheets, Sheets, and small Pamphlets, to the number of some Thousands ; and it is very unlikely that any Man who had not the same View, should have so extensive a Curiosity and so good Opportunity to satisfy it.

They had heard, no doubt, there was such a Man as *De Wit*, and that he was torn to Pieces by the Rabble ; but if they had not read *D'Estrade's Letters*, which not one of them, I belieye, ever had, and been very exact in inquiring into his Conduct, they could never have known that it was for being a *Traytor* to his Country and a Friend to *France*. They had heard of the *Triple League*, and the Breach of it ; but they could not prove it was never intended to be kept, and that *England* and *Sweden* were *Pensioners of France* at the same time that they leagu'd with *Holland* against Her. Many other Secrets of Importance, printed Abroad

Part III. of E U R O P E.

3

Abroad or Privately at Home, and such as I defy those *well-inform'd* Gentlemen to refer to, are to be met with in those Two Parts, and will be met with in this the *Third*, which I can say with Truth, and without Vanity, has been a Task set me by Men of so much Worth, that I had no liberty of Choice, and was oblig'd to do my utmost to give them as much Satisfaction, as they were pleas'd to express in the Two former Parts.

Having made mention of the *Triple League* and the Breach of it, I shall add some Passages relating to that Affair, to the shutting up of the Exchequer, the Debates in Parliament in the Interval between the *Dutch War* and the Peace of *Nimegnen*, and the Rise of the two Powerful Parties of *Whig* and *Tory*, which then and now also so unhappily divide this Nation. In doing this, I shall intersperse several little Incidents, that help to set the Characters of the great Men of those Times in a better Light than they have hitherto appear'd in.

In the Course of this History, the Reader will observe I break in upon Chronology very often, and go backwards or forwards as the Matter offer'd; which Irregularity could not be avoided, the Memoirs of the Facts not being easily come at, nor in such time as to place them in due order, but the Curiosity of them will excuse that Fault, and what immediately follows will, I doubt not, put the Reader into so

The Secret History Part III.

good Humour, that he will not refuse to Pardon me, if I commit it again.

I have had sight of a Manuscript written by a Person of Quality, who had a Share in the most secret Transactions of his Times, and it being too Voluminous and Particular to give it entire, I have taken thence such Facts and Reflections upon them, as are of most Importance. They serve to explain and confirm several Passages in the first Part of this History, and came from a Hand that cannot be suspected to want either Sincerity or Capacity, which shall be prov'd when those Facts are call'd in Question, and till then I shall keep his Name and Manuscript a Secret.

I have already touch'd upon the Dutches of *Orleans*'s coming to *Dover* in 1670. to conclude the Secret League between the two Kings of *England* and *France*; and I have since met with some Particulars relating to that League and that Princess, which are known to few, and are very well worth knowing. The Articles were indeed kept so secret, that the very Ministers of State were not acquainted with them. From this Visit and Treaty rose all the Misfortunes that attended King *Charles* and King *James*. The Dutches of *Orleans*, when she return'd to *France*, left Madam *Carvel*, (now Dutches of *Portsmouth*) with King *Charles*, who being a Female Favourite, had a thousand Opportunities to confirm him in the *French* Interest. There were some Mistersies attending this Treaty, or suggested to be so to *Monsieur* the *French* King's Brother

Part. III. of EUROPE.

Brother, which so fir'd his Jealous Temper, that nothing less than the Life of the Offender could appease him. A few Days after Madam's Return from Dover, she entertain'd my Lord Panlet, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and other English Gentlemen at St. Clou with a Consort of Musick, in which she bore a Part, and it being over, she prepar'd for a Bath. The Company retir'd, and she call'd for Succory Water, mention'd in the first Part. As soon as she drank it, she complain'd of its Bitterness and ill Relish, and a few Moments after found her self so ill, she said *I shall dye*. The News of her violent and sudden Sickness brought the King from Versailles to see her. When he came she whisper'd to him for some time, and then said Aloud, *she should dye, tho she had nothing to reproach herself with in her Conduct as a Wife*. Before Three a Clock in the Morning she expir'd. The News of it was immediately brought to the English Ambassador, upon which Sir Thomas Armstrong went to St. Clou, and tho he got thither by Six a Clock the same Morning the Corpse smelt so strong from the Malignity of the Potion, he could hardly bear the Room. The Fact was so plain, that he came back and reported it to the Ambassador, took Post for England, and gave the King a full Account of it. The King wept, and express'd himself very Passionately against Monsieur, saying, *He was a ——* And added, *But prithee Tom don't speak of it.*

If there remains the least doubt of the Secret League between King Charles II. and

the French King, I have another Authority to produce in Proofit, which puts the thing out of all question, and that is, Dr. King, the most Reverend Archbishop of Dublin, who in a Thanksgiving Sermon before the Lords Justices of Ireland, preach'd in St. Patrick's Church in Dublin, upon the Reducti-
on of that Kingdom, tells us of a Paper found in the Closet of Coll. Richard Talbot, after-
wards Earl of Tyrconnel, wherein the Scheme of that Secret Treaty is laid open, it bears date the 1st of July 1671, and imports the Design between King Charles and King Lewis, the Contents of which were to establish Popery in England by a Toleration, to suppress the Insolency of the Dutch, and to maintain a strict Alliance between the French King and the King of England, by which means, as that Paper concludes, the King of Great Britain would be absolute over his own Subjects. Another Proof of it produc'd by his Grace, was the Count d'Avaux's Memorial to the States in 1688, mention'd in the first Part of this History, and a third, a Letter writ-
ten by Molony the Popish Bishop of Killaloo in Ireland, directed to another, wherein he states this to be the Design of the French King and expresses great Anger that some Trimmers about King James did disown any such Treaty with his Most Christian Majesty. I have already made mention of some Steps taken in England that seem'd to be an effect of such a League, and having met with other corroborating Circumstances relating to some of them, I shall by them strengthen what has been said on this Subject,

As

Part III. of EUROPE.

7

As to shutting up of the Exchequer, these further Memoirs concerning it have been communicated to me. The King *Charles* had got Five Millions from the Parliament at several times, under colour of the *Triple League*, yet more Money was still wanting to carry on the Designs form'd by the Secret Alliance. The *French* King remitted 700000*l.* which was paid in Mr. *Chaffin's* Name. But that was not enough to answer the Expence of a new League and a Lavish Court. His Majesty, in a private Meeting with his Ministers, declar'd, *If any one of them could devise a Method how to raise 1500000*l.* without a Parliament, he should have the White Staff.* The next Day the Lord *Ashley* told Sir *Thomas Clifford* in Confidence, *There was a way to supply the King immediately with such a Sum, but that it was hazardous to be put in Practice, and might draw with it a Train of ill Consequences by inflaming both the Parliament and People.* Sir *Thomas* was impatient to know the Secret; he was Bold and Daring, entirely in the *French* and *Popish* Interest, pleas'd with every thing that might render the King uneasy with Parliaments, to engage him the closer with *France* and *Rome*, which made him eager to know my Lord *Ashley's* Project. He ply'd my Lord with Visits, and having drunk him to a pitch one Night, he insensibly led the Conversation into the King's Necessities, and my Lord *Ashley* being warm dropt the important Secret, which was the *shutting up the Exchequer*. Sir *Thomas* took the Hint immediately, left my Lord as soon as

as he handsomly could, went directly to Whitehall, and without going to Bed attended till the King rose, fell on his Knees, and demanded the White Staff according to his Promise. His Majesty reply'd, *Godsfish!* *I'll be as good as my Word, if you can find the Money.* Then Sir Thomas told him, *If he would shut up the Exchequer, he might be sure of 1500000l.* The King, who was as quick as any of his Ministers, fell in with the Project, and Sir Thomas Clifford was made Lord High Treasurer and a Peet. My Lord Ashley was sensibly touch'd to be thus circumvented by the Lord Clifford, but the Thing was done, and he put the best Face he could on it, saying, *That Clifford had plough'd with his Heifer.*

The Proposal for shutting up the Exchequer was made in Council by Sir Thomas Clifford, who said, *The King must have Money to carry on the War against Holland, in which his Honour was engag'd; that he knew no other means at present than shutting up the Exchequer, and he desir'd none would speak against it without proposing some Method more certain and expeditious;* to which there was no Reply, and so in January 1671, by force of the Prerogative, was a stop put to all Publick Payments, to the Surprize of the whole Kingdom, attended with the Tears and Lamentations of the many unfortunate Families concern'd in it, who found themselves ruin'd in a Moment.

The Treasurer Clifford was the most deeply engag'd of any of the Ministers in the *Secret Alliance with France;* his View was known

Part III. of EUROPE.

9

known to every Body. He was a Profess'd Papist, Zealous for his Religion, and one who would not stick at any Thing to promote its Interests. It happen'd while he had the Staff, that the King, the Duke of *York*, and himself, were shut up in a Room by themselves, when *Sir William Bucknal*, a Commissioner of the Excise, came to speak with the King, to whom he had free Acces, he frequently accommodating his Majesty with Money. In Presumption of his usual Liberty, he went directly to the Room where he heard the King was, and hearing Discourse, had the Curiosity to get up close to the Door and hearken to it attentively, which he was excited to do by the King's speaking with some Earnestness, but he could only hear broken and imperfect Expressions. The Duke spoke so low he could not understand what he said, but *Clifford* spoke loud, as in Publick, answering the King in a very Audible and Articulate manner, in these Words, *Sir, If you are driven off upon Fears you will never be safe, the Work will do if you declare your self with Resolution, there is enough to stand by you.* The King reply'd, *This Name Popery will never be swallow'd by the People,* which having said, he started from his Seat, crying, *Some Body is at the Door.* *Clifford* run hastily to it, and without speaking a Word fell furiously upon *Sir Wm. Bucknal* dragging him to a pair of Stairs, from whence he kick'd him down, and soon after *Sir William* dy'd, which was not improbably imputed to that Misfortune.

Had

Had Sir *Robert Holmes* succeeded in his Attempt on the *Dutch Smyrna Fleet*, with that Treasure and the Exchequer-Money, the Court might have done what they pleas'd ; but he fail'd in it, and to amuse the People, there came out two Days after a *Declaring of Indulgence to Dissenters*, intended to exalt another Branch of the Prerogative, the Dispensing Power. Before the first *Dutch War*, there was a Declaration of the same Nature ; yet had *Lauderdale* procur'd a Bill in *Scotland*, whereby that Kingdom was oblig'd to raise 20000 Foot and 2000 Horse, to march into *England*, or be transported to *Ireland*, as occasion should require : And at the very Instant when this second Declaration appear'd, the Dissenters were severely persecuted in *Scotland*, and the Papists in *Ireland* had all the Indulgence in the World. For these *Tolerations* were not out of any Regard to *tender Consciences*, but to Controle the *Legislative Power*, and were always attended with large Concessions to the Papists, and other Preparatory Acts to introduce Arbitrary Power.

About the same time *Mr Henry Coventry*, at the Instance of the *French King*, was dispatch'd to the Court of *Sweden*, to divert that Prince from the Execution of the *Triple League*, in which he succeeded so well, that he was made Secretary of State. *Colonel Birch* afterwards in the House of Commons reflected on *Mr. Coventry*, for being *Zealous*, before he was *Secretary*, to grant the *King* a *Supply to support the Triple League*, when

Part III. of EUROPE.

11

when at the same time he knew the Two Crowns had determin'd to dissolve it. There was just Reason to believe the Charge was true, but Mr. Secretary Coventry sitting then near the Bar, rose up in a Flame, and with great Asseverations deny'd it, saying, If an Angel that came from Heaven should reproach him with it, he would prevent his going back if it were in his Power.

The Reader will find Hints of these Things in the first Part of this History, the Truth of which will be confirm'd by these Explanations. I have not follow'd my Manuscript literally, the Treatise being at large, and containing several Matters foreign to my present Purpose. 'Tis probable it may one time or other appear in its full Length. In the mean time it wou'd be a Crime to deprive the World of so much of this Curious Piece as comes within the compass of my Design.

The next Event I shall further enlarge upon, is the second *Dutch War*, the ridiculous opening of which I have already explain'd. This Gentleman sets forth the terrible Burnings and Murders committed by the *French* in *Holland*, where, as a Specimen of what the Cities might expect, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* march'd to *Bodegraven* and *Swammerdam*, putting Men, Women and Children to the Sword, and making a Deluge of Blood in the Streets. In the midst of the lamentable Shrieks of those poor Wretches, he gave the Word of Command, *Plunder, Ravish, Massacre, and Kill*, which was executed without relenting. These hellish

hellish Outrages spread a Terror over the whole Country: In this Fright the Lords of *Amsterdam* assembled, to deliberate what to do, and the Debate was, whether they shou'd or shou'd not send their Keys to the *French King* at *Utrecht*. There were in the Assembly some so Cowardly as to argue for the Affirmative, till *Monsieur Tulip*, one of the Burgomasters, a Man of an Invincible Spirit, ran to the Window, and vow'd if they did not lay aside all Thoughts of submitting to *France*, he wou'd call out to the People (who were crowding about the *Stadt-house*) and have them torn to Pieces, which put an end to that Dispute. This Burgomaster afterwards going the Night round upon the Ramparts, a Centinel commanded him to Stand; he, to try the Vigilance and Fidelity of the Soldier, came forward in the Dark without answering, upon which the Centinel fir'd and shot him Dead.

The Progresses of the *French* startled the Parliament of *England*, tho' they were the same as had the odious Name of *Pensioners*. However, the Court resolv'd to carry Matters with a high Hand, and the Courtiers promis'd to make some Bold Steps this Session in favour of the *Prerogative*, by investing the Crown with such a Power, that Parliaments should become despicable and useless. My Lord *Clifford* was at the Head of those desperate Counsels, and undertook to Open the Debates in the Lord's House, for establishing of a Perpetual Fund. He prepar'd a set Speech to that purpose, which he read to my Lord *Ashley*, newly made Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and Lord Chancellor

Part III. of EUROPE.

13

lor, who desir'd to hear it again, and upon the second Reading he charg'd his Memory with the substance of it, promising he wou'd likewise come roundly into the Debate. This gave him an Opportunity he wish'd for to be reveng'd of *Clifford*, who, pursuant to the Determination of the Cabal, began the Debate with the very Speech he had shew'd my Lord *Shaftsbury*, his Majesty and his Royal Highness being then in the House to countenance the Design. The Country Lords, and those who were not in the *Secret*, star'd at one another; the whole House at the end of the Speech remain'd in an awful Silence, meditating the Fate of poor *England*, when my Lord *Shaftsbury* stood up, and answer'd his Speech from the Beginning to the End, shewing, "That
" his Propositions were Extravagant: That
" what he aim'd at would end in Confusion
" and the Ruin of the Government: That
" it might perhaps send the Royal Family
" Abroad again to spend their Lives in
" Exile, without Hopes of a Return." Which he spoke with so much Spirit and Sharpness, that he confounded the Court Counsels. While he was speaking the Duke, who was very angry with him, whisper'd the King, *What a Rogue you have of a Lord Chancellor.* The King reply'd, *Godfish, what a Fool you have of a Lord Treasurer.* The Debate ended in a Ruffle, *Clifford* narrowly escap'd being sent to the Tower, and finding himself thus given up by the King, he declar'd, *He wou'd serve no Prince in the World, who had not*
Courage

14 The Secret History Part III.

Courage to avow his Principles, and support his Ministers in the Execution of his Demands. Accordingly he soon after retir'd, and dy'd in Privacy and Discontent in Devonshire.

In this Parliament the Test that threw the Papists out of Employments pass'd, and it is remarkable that the Earl of Bristol, a *Roman Catholick*, spoke for the Test in the House of Lords, saying, *He was a Catholick of the Church of Rome, but not a Catholick of the Court of Rome*: That the Commons, who brought in the Bill were the best Judges of the true Temper of the Nation: That they being sensible what dangerous Effects a General Disturbance of Mens Minds in the Concernments of Religion might produce, had apply'd their Care to obviate it by this Bill; a Bill, in his Opinion, as full of Moderation towards Catholicks, as of Prudence and Security to the Religion of the State: That he was none of those Wherry Men in Religion, who look'd one way and row'd another: That tho' a Roman Catholick, yet as a Member of a Protestant Parliament, his Advice could not but go along with the Scope of the Bill, the present Circumstances of Time and Affairs consider'd, and the Necessity of composing the disturb'd Minds of the People. The Lord Chancellor being for this Test so warmly as he was, cou'd not expect to keep the Seals long. Besides this Test, there were other Bills on foot, which made the Catholicks almost desperate; as that to prevent Intermarriages between Protestants and Papists, which would have put a Stop to the Marriage of his Royal Highness with the Princeps of Modena

dena, to whom the French King gave 40000 Pistoles for her Portion, and demanded them of her Brother the present Duke of Modena in the Year 1701, when he was, in a manner, Master of Italy.

The Court being very uneasy at the Proceedings of the Commons against Papists, and fearing they would fall in as heartily against France, it was resolv'd to prorogue them. Accordingly the King came to the House the 7th of January 1673, the Commons happen'd then to be going up with an Address to him, not knowing of his coming to the House. The Address was about the Army rais'd for the Dutch War. The Speaker at the Head of the Commons met the Black Rod at the Door of the House, the Speaker being within the Door, some of the Members shut it, and cry'd *To the Chair*, others cry'd the *Black Rod*; but the Speaker was hurry'd to the Chair, and then it was mov'd,

I. That the Alliance with France was a Grievance.

II. That the Evil Counsellors about the King were a Grievance; And

III. That the Duke of Lauderdale was a Grievance.

Upon which there was a general Cry, *To the Question, to the Question*; but the Black Rod knocking earnestly at the Door, the Speaker leapt out of the Chair, and the House rose in great Confusion.

In

In the Place of my Lord Clifford Sir Thomas Osburn succeeded as Lord Treasurer, who coming to take the Oaths as usual in Chancery, my Lord Shaftesbury made a Speech to him, and among other things told him, *That Kings were like Gods, they cou'd make Choice of whom they pleas'd; yet in this they were like Men, they cou'd only make Choice, but not render him they chose adequate to the Employment: That he ought to remember, that Parta-tueri non minor est Virtus; and then wish'd he might long enjoy the Honour of his Place, and the King the Satisfaction of his Choice.* The Lord Treasurer thank'd the Lord Chancellor; but the next Day when he had consider'd the Terms in the Speech, he sent to revoke his Thanks.

My Lord Shaftesbury having incur'd the Implacable Hatred of the Papists, they never left the King till they had got him to remove him: In order to which in Michaelmas Term he was sent for on a Sunday Morning to Court, as was also Sir Heneage Finch, Attorney General, to whom the Seals were promis'd. When my Lord Shaftesbury came, he went with the King into the Closet, while the Popish Faction waited in Triumph to see him return without the Purse. My Lord being alone with the King, said, *Sir, I know you intend to give the Seals to the Attorney-General; but I am sure your Majesty never design'd to dismiss me with Contempt. No, Godforbid, my Lord, reply'd the King, I will not do it with any such Circumstance as may look like an Affront. Then, Sir, says my Lord, I desire your Majesty*

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Part III. of EUROPE.

19

My self will permit me to carry the Seals before you to Chappel, and send them afterwards from my own House, to which his Majesty, one of the best natur'd Princes in the World, agreed. My Lord entertain'd the King with *News*, and other diverting Stories, till the very Minute he was to go to *Church*, on purpose to amuse the *Courtiers* and his Successor, whom he knew to be on the *Rack* for fear the Earl shou'd prevail on the King to change his Mind: His Majesty and my Lord came out of the *Closet* talking together and smiling, and went to *Church*, which extremely surpriz'd them all, who cou'd have no Opportunity to inform themselves what was to be expected; some ran immediately to tell the Duke all their Measures were broken, and the *Attorney-General* was Inconsolable. After Sermon my Lord went Home with the Seals, and that Evening the King gave them to the *Attorney*, who was hardly yet recover'd out of the Fright the *Closet* Conversation had put him into.

The next Disgrac'd Minister of the *Cabal* was the Duke of *Buckingham*, who repenting of the Hand he had had in the Court Measures, quitted his Employments, and was ever after that in the *Country Interest* to his Death. The *Court* finding they cou'd not bring the *Parliament* into their Measures for a *Dutch War*, clap'd up a *Peace* as precipitately as they had broken it, and the King assum'd the Office of *Mediator* between the *French King* and the *Confederates*. The latter found him so Partial to

France,

France, that they did not regard his Mediation. Immediately upon the conclusion of the Peace, the Courtiers began to set about their Main Work, the settling an Arbitrary Government. To this end they thought it their Interest to engage the *National Church* on their side by humouring the *Clergy*, who bore a mortal Hatred to *Dissenters*, against whom all the *Penal Laws* were let loose, and all the Force of them intended to restrain *Recusants* was employ'd to ruin *Fanaticism*, an excellent Term invented by those Ingenious Gentlemen call'd *High-Churchmen*, to distinguish such as are guilty of *Sobriety* and *Moderation*. The Ecclesiastick Drums were beaten against *Dissenters*, *Forty One* and the *Danger of the Church*, were rung in the Peoples Ears. Wise Men saw this was a *Popish Trick* to weaken the Protestant Interest by dividing it; and tho' the Men of *Charity* and *Moderation* were the only true Orthodox Members, worthy the Name of *Churchmen*, yet were they jumbled with the *Fanaticks* under one common Term of Reproach, that of *Whigs*. The other Faction, compos'd of the Papists and the *High-Flyers* of those Happy Times, was call'd *Tories*, and this was the Rise of the Two Parties, which have gone so far since in fixing the Scandal of Madness on our Country. I have met with a very odd Story on this Occasion, a Story which agrees so little with all History, and with the Character of King *Charles the Martyr*, that I confess I do not know what to think of it; and tho'

it is reported by a Person of great Worth and Honour, yet in the phrase of our News Writers, it wants Confirmation. The good old Earl of Oxford was the Author of it, and it must go for True or False as his Word has weight. 'The Landean Spirit,' says the Gentleman who tells it, and Principles were reviv'd, and the Arbitrary Designs of that Age again set on Foot, to enslave the Laity. They were true Prophets in the Noise they made about Forty One: Dr. Laud's Frantick Zeal brought on the King the Calamities of Forty One; for if that Prelate had never been a Bishop, King Charles had never been murder'd, and the same Spirit of Confusion possessing the High-Flyers of this time, terminated in the Abdication of King James. When King Charles the I. was a Prisoner at Holmby House, the late Earl of Oxford had leave to be confin'd with him, that he might wait on him. My Lord was one Day deplored the Fate of Archbiihop Laud, who had lost his Life for his Majesty, For me, reply'd the King hastily, No, he dy'd for his own Ambition, and that you my Lord, continu'd the King, may be sensible of it, I'll give you an Instance of his Temper. He perswaded me to write Letters to the Protestant Princes and States of Europe, and propose to them, that he, as Archbishop of Canterbury, should be own'd and declar'd by them to be the Metropolitan and Head of all the Protestant Churches; which, when they utterly declin'd, he would have had me declare War against them, and shed the Blood

of my own Subjects, and of my Friends abroad, to extoll his Authority. There are several Gentlemen living who have heard my Lord tell this Story, and 'twas the Royal Martyr's Character of Dr. Laud, which made that Noble Lord afterwards a *Staunch Whig*. How far Credit is to be given to his Lordship in a Passage so contrary to every thing that has been told us of Archbishop Laud and of King Charles the I. I shall not determine.

I wou'd not have any good *Churchman* take Offence at what has been said of this Archbishop, whom some Men have endeavour'd to make as great a Martyr for the Church, as the Royal Martyr himself, it being certain that Prelate was deeply concern'd in all those mischievous Affairs which brought that Pious Prince to so deplorable an End. So very early in his Reign as the Coronation, did Dr. Laud prepare the way for a Despotick Government in Church and State, the one being the Consequence of the other; but I desire not to be believ'd on my own Word, wherefore I refer the Reader to my Lord Chief Baron Atkins's Speech to Sir William Aburft, when he was Sworn Lord Mayor on the 30th of October 1693. He is giving several Instances of the Secret Designs of the Courts of England and France to set up Arbitrary Power alike in both Nations, and Names what follows as one. *The striking out*, says he, *of that Part of the Ancient Oath in King Charles I's. Time at his Coronation by Archbishop Laud, (That the King*

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Part. III. of EUROPE.

25

King should consent to such Laws as the People should chuse; and instead of that warber very unusual one observed, saving the King's Prorogative Royal: Was not this an open betraying of his Country? and if he had so little Wondered for the Rights and Liberties of his own Countrymen, one may imagine he had much less for those of other Nations. This I say to justify what has been said of the Principles of a Prelate, whose Promises have fill'd many Rheams of waste Paper. What the Chief Baron says afterwards proves a continued Design to establish a French Government in this Kingdom, and therefore I shall repeat it. I could tell you of something more of that kind done since, at the time of the Coronation of the late King James, when there was much more struck out of the Coronation Oath, which might be well worth the Enquiring how it came about. The unhappy Son we see pursu'd what the unhappy Father began, and had not our Deliverer King William destroy'd all these Machinations, they must have succeeded long e're this, and the League which is now so much a Secret wou'd have been to our Cost, the best attested Part of our History, we shou'd have felt as well as seen it.

Among the *Whigs* were several Old Cavaliers, who were either disgusted at the Ingratitude of the Court to them, or at the Countenance given to Papists; for 'tis certain the Old Cavaliers, the Capel's, the Clarendon's, and the like, were far from giving such Encouragement to Papists, as the *Tories* in King *Charles II*'s. and the following

lowing Reigns did. The Junts at Lambeth, form'd of the Ministry and 6 or 7 Bishops, promis'd the *High Churchmen* and Old *Cavaliers* all the Places; but the Performance did not Answer, and one may imagine how the latter, at least, far'd by an Incident which Colonel *Titus* us'd to report, that he was once in the Park with the King and Court, when his Majesty pointed to an Old Cavalier who had been a Colonel in the Army, and told the Company, *There was a brave Man as ever drew a Sword in the Royal Cause, that now wanted Bread.* The Colonel shock'd at this Expression, very frankly told the King, *If he wanted Bread any longer it would be his fault, who know his Necessities, and did not relieve him.* The King puff'd and walk'd on, but *Titus* brought the Old Gentleman afterwards to the Treasury when the King was there, and his Majesty gave him Two Hundred Pounds.

To what I have said before of the Test of Abhorrence, I must now add, that the Ministry were so complaisant to the *High-Church* Interest, in opposition to the *Papists* as well as *Fanatics*, that the *Catholicks* form'd a Party of themselves to advance his Royal Highness's Credit and Power. They concluded, that to carry on so mighty a Work as the Conversion of the Three Kingdoms, their great Reliance must be on the Interest and Zeal of the Duke, joyn'd with the *French King's* Purse and Power; wherefore they resolv'd on a closer Treaty with his *Most Christian Majesty*, as he is lately call'd in the State Papers, to get the Fleet

Fleet into his Royal Highness's Hands, and to strengthen their Faction by all means possible, Sir William Throgmorton was sent to France, to desire the recalling of Monsieur Ravigny, the French Ambassador, who was a Protestant, and the sending a Papist in his Room, to whom they might freely communicate their Designs, and consult with him about promoting them. Accordingly Mr Ravigny was recall'd, and Mr Courvoisier sent to succeed him.

There had arisen in the House of Commons a famous Dispute with the House of Lords about Priviledges, in the Case between *Fox* and *Shirley*, which was continu'd when the Parliament met in October 1675. Sir Edward Seymour, then Speaker of the House of Commons, as he pass'd thro' Westminster Hall, sent the Mace and seiz'd on Sir John Churchill and three other Lawyers, who had attended at the Bar of the Lords House, contrary to a Resolution of the Commons, and led them Prisoners to the House, from whence they were sent Prisoners to the Tower, where the next Sunday Mr Hawkins, Chaplain of the Tower, welcom'd them with this Text, *Those that have turn'd the World upside down are come hither also.* It was mov'd in the House of Lords, that an Address should be presented to the King to dissolve the Parliament: But the Heads of the People of England were then turn'd the right way, and the Court knew they shou'd have a Parliament less to their Mind than that they had, which made them willing to keep them.

There was a Speech made in the House of Peers on this Occasion, in which were Expressions to this purpose, if not the very same, to an almost equal or greater Extent.

That there ought to be new and frequent Parliaments, according to the known Laws and Statutes of the Realm: That it was an unreasonable particular Number of Years should engross so great a Trust of the People for so many Years, and so long represent them, to the Exclusion of all other Gentlemen and Members of Corporations of equal Degree and Quality with themselves: That 'twas a Disadvantage to the Government, that the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs should be so long confin'd to Members they had once chosen to serve them: That the mutual Correspondence of those who chose and are chosen, admitted of great Variations by length of Time: That the long Continuance of those entrusted by others, who have so great a Power over the Purse of the Nation, must naturally produce Faction and Parties, to carry on particular Interests, rather than the Publick Good: That by their long sitting the Price of a Membership was so enhanc'd, that Seven Thousand Pounds had been spent at one Election, which look'd very suspicious, that something more was aim'd at than the Service of the Nation.

The Author might have instanc'd an Election for a Baron of one of the Cinque Ports, the Candidates being Sir John Banks and Mr Draper, who between them are reported to have spent 13000*l.* in a Place not worth half the Money. 'Twas further arg'd,

That

That those Members who bought their Places dear could not live by selling their Voices cheap. On the other side it was insisted, That a Parliament might endanger the Crown, and that the House of Commons and the Church were bred up and must fall together. To this it was answer'd, That such Assertions were very surprising and seemed to him, as if the present House of Commons were not the true Representatives of the People, who would choose Men of other Principles at the next Election. It also implied, that the Interest of the Crown and the Church were opposite to that of the Nation: That to suppose so was very unjust, and of ill Consequence to the Government.

Upon the Question it was carry'd in the Negative by Two Voices, as appears by the following List.

A L I S T of the Lords who were present at the Vote for an Address to the King for Dissolving the Parliament, November the 20th, 1673.

Those with this Mark * were Registered for the Address.	
* His Royal Highness,	E. Westmorden,
D. of Buckingham,	E. Bulingbrook,
M. Winchester,	E. Chesterfield,
E. Marshal,	E. Stamford,
E. Norwich,	E. Peterborough,
E. Kent,	E. Manchester,
E. Dorset,	E. Berk,
E. Salisbury,	E. Malgrove,
E. Bridgewater,	E. Seardale,
	E. Sun-

E. Sandeford, on 21st Lord Rose, and T.
 E. Clarendon, ye evil 1st Lord Arundel of
 E. Essex, 2nd Lord Bess of Warden, 22nd Lord
 * E. Cardigan, 1st Lord Lombarde, 2nd Lord
 E. Shaftesbury, 1st Lord Topham, 2nd
 * E. Pomys, 1st Lord Merton, 2nd
 Visc. Fauconberg, 1st Lord Bellasis, 2nd
 Visc. Halifax, 1st Lord Carington, 2nd
 Visc. Tavistock, 1st Lord Da la Motte or
 Visc. Newport, 1st Lord Townsendl, 2nd
 Lord Sandy, 1st Lord Grey of Roffey,
 Lord Morley, 1st Lord Grey of Ruthyn,
 * Lord Sturton, 1st Gave Proxies
 Lord Wharton, 1st Lord of Wharton,
 Lord absent and such that gave Proxies for this
 Question, Earl Denbigh, Lord Holland,
 Other Lords absent, that were for this Address.
 Earl Bedford, 1st Lord Fizwarter,
 Earl Burlington, 1st Lord Ever, & 2nd Lord

Against the Address, T. S. I. N.
 Lord Keeper, 1st Lord L. Howard of Escrick,
 Lord Treasurer, 1st Lord Byron,
 Lord Privy-Seal, 1st Lord Lucas,
 Lord Great Chamberlain, 1st L. Vaughan, E. Carbery,
 E. Northampton, 1st Lord Gerard,
 * E. Bristol, 1st Lord Frechvill,
 E. Bath, 1st L. Butler, E. of Offord,
 E. Craven, 1st L. Arundel of Trerice,
 E. Alisbury, 1st 21 Lay Lords,
 E. Gilford, 1st 13 Bishops, who were all
 Lord M. d'Albret, 1st that were in the House,
 Lord Windsor, 1st These 34 Lords gave
 Lord Powles, 1st 16 Proxies,
 Lord Maynard, 1st Total 50
 One

One may by this see what a Publick Spirit reign'd at that time in England; the very Peers Lords shew'd themselves to be Englishmen, and were for dissolving a Parliament who did Votes to the Court, and would have sold their Country, had a good Purchaser bid fair for it. It is remarkable that so many Peers should Vote on their Country side, and not one of the Bishops. It shew's us what we are to expect from that Bench, when they owe their Promotion to the Brigade of a Party, whose Interest and that of the Publick are incompatable.

The Protestation with Reasons of several Lords for the Dissolution of this Parliament, enter'd in the Lord's Journal, Novemb. 22, 1675, the Day the Parliament was prorog'd.

WE whose Names are underwritten, Peers of this Realm, having propos'd, That an humbled Address might be made to his Majesty from this House, that he would be graciously pleas'd to Dissolve this Parliament: And the House having carry'd it in the Negative, for the Justification of our Loyal Intentions towards his Majesty's Service, and of our true Respect and Diference to this Honourable House; and to shew that we had no sinister or indirect End in this our humble Proposal, do with all Humility herein set forth the Grounds and Reasons why we were of Opinion, that the said humble Address should have been made.

I: We

1. We do humbly conceive, that it is according to the ancient Laws and Statutes of this Realm, that there should be frequent and new Parliaments, and that the practice of several Years hath been accordingly.

2. It seems not reasonable, that any particular number of Men should for many Years ingross so great a Trust of the People, as to be their Representatives in the House of Commons; And all other the Gentry and the Members of Corporations of the same degree and quality with them should be so long excluded. Neither, as we humbly conceive, is it Advantageous to the Government, that the Counties, Cities and Boroughs, should be confin'd for so long a time to such Members as they have once chosen to serve for them, the mutual Correspondence and Interests of those who chuse and are chosen, admitting of great Variations in length of Time.

3. The long continuance of any such as are entrusted for others, and who have so great a Power over the Purse of the Nation, must, in our humble Opinion, naturally endanger the producing of Factions and Parties, and the carrying on of particular Interests and Designs, rather than the Publick Good.

4. And we are the more confirm'd in our Desires for the said humble Address, by reason of the unhappy Breach fallen out betwixt the two Houses, of which the House of Peers hath not given the least occasion; they have done nothing but what

what their Ancestors and Predecessors
have done, and what is according to their
Duty, and for the Interest of the People
that they should do; which notwithstanding
the House of Commons have proceeded
in such an unprecedent and extraor-
dinary way, that it is in our humble Opin-
ion, become altogether unpracticable for
the two Houses, as the Case stands, joint-
ly to pursue those great and good Ends for
which they were called.

For these Reasons, we do enter this our
Protestation agaist and Dissent unto the
said Vote.

Buckingham,	Fauconberg,
Winchester,	Hallifax,
Salisbury,	Tarmonsh,
Bridgewater,	Newport,
Dorset,	Sandys,
Westmorland,	Wharton,
Chesterfield,	Petre,
Stamford,	Mobun,
Berks,	De la Mer,
Clarendon,	Townsend,
Shaftesbury,	Grey of Rolston.

These were all the Lords that were in
the House early enough to sign the Pro-
testation before the Parliament was pro-
rogued.

The Bishops then entirely in the *High In-*
terest to a Man, Voted against the *Country*
Party; an Instance of which cannot be
nam'd since the *Happy Revolution*, when
Prelates have been made for their Learning
and

and Piety. But in ill Times Men of other Merit and Morals will serve the turn best, and then there will be no Advancements but of such as those that advance them shall be sure of to a Man also. The Parliament, as bad as it was, mended daily, and began to be so allarm'd that the Progress of the French Power and Popery, which have always gone Hand in Hand, since France has set up for the Champion of the Church, that though the Court would not dissolve them, they prorogu'd them from the 22d of November 1675. to the 15th of February 1676-7. a Year and three Months, a Prorogation without President, which Prorogation was argu'd, when they met again, to be a Dissolution of Course, and the Duke of Buckingham, with three Lords more were order'd to be sent to the Tower for defending that Motion. I shall not dwell upon an Event too well known to be now the Subject of a *Secret History*, only observe, that when the Duke of Buckingham found how it would go with them, he slipt out of the House, while the Lord Anglesey was arguing against committing them; the House finding he had withdrawn himself, were in a Rage, and intended to address the King for a Proclamation against him; but the Duke, who knew it was only a Tower Busines for a Week or two, would not give them so much Trouble, and appear'd the next Day in his Place. The Court Lords immediately cry'd out *To the Bar*. My Lord, who had the happiest way in the World to turn any thing

thing Serious into a Jeſt, and extricate himſelf out of Difficulties, rose up and ſaid,

He begg'd their Lordſhip's Pardon for reti-
ring the Night before: that they very well knew
the exact Oeconomy he kept in his Family, and
perceiving their Lordſhip's intended he ſhould be
ſome time in another Place, he only went Home
to ſet his House in Order, and was now come
to ſubmit himſelf to their Lordſhip's Pleaſure,
which was to ſend him to the Tower after
the Earls of Shaftesbury and Salibury, and
the Lord Wharton. I have been told, that
the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was Jealous of
the Duke of Buckingham's ſetting himſelf
up for the Head of his Party, us'd to ſpeak
ſlightly of him as a Man that was Inconſtant,
Giddy, and had his Head full of Whimſies,
ſuitable to the Character of him in *Aſſaſon*
and *Achitophel*, which the Duke was in-
form'd of and reſented. It happen'd that
he, the Earl of Salibury and the Lord Whar-
ton being diſcharg'd on their Submission,
and only the Earl of Shaftesbury continu'd in
the Tower; the Earl look'd out of Win-
dow as the Duke of Buckingham was taking
Coach, and cry'd, *What, my Lord, are you
going to leave us. Ay, my Lord, says he,
such giddy Headed Fellows as I can never stay
long in a Place.*

After these Lords were fast lock't up,
the Popiſh and High Parties began to come
to a pretty good Understanding, they
paſſ'd three Bills and ſent them to the
Commons,

One entitled, *An Act for ſecuring the
Proteſtant Religion, by Educating the Children
of*

of the Royal Family, and providing for the Maintenance of the Protestant Clergy.

The other, An Act for the more effectual Conviction and Prosecution of Popish Recusants.

The third, An Act for the Regulation of the Press, with a Clause to break open an House on Suspicion of any Pamphlets.

These Bills were penn'd as the Papists wou'd have them. That about the Conviction of Recusants, was thrown out at the first reading by the Commons; and with this Remark enter'd in their Journals, That they had thrown it out, becaust the Body of the Bill was directly contrary to the Title.

This Bill as soon as it was Read in the House of Commons, was spoken roundly against by a Gentleman of great Worth and Capacity. Another mov'd, that it might not only be thrown out, but with a particular Mark of Infamy: And it being without any more ado ready to be put to the Question, a Third demanded they shou'd stay a while, to see whether there were any so hardy as to speak a word for it. The other Two Bills were laid by with Contempt. The Parliament wou'd not hear of giving up the Press, not even to the Court, from whom such a Number of them receiv'd their Pensions. The Liberty of it was a Trust not to be committed to a Ministry, Favourers of Popery and Arbitrary Power: Nay, they were so honest as on the 6th of March 1676. to Address the King against the growing Greatness of France, and for the Preservation of the Netherlands;

for

for it must be a sad Case with *England* when a Parliament shall be such Friends to *France* as to contribute to its Power, and such Enemies to the *Netherlands* as to weaken its Barrier. It was observ'd by a Member of the House of Commons in a Speech on this Occasion, that we lost then Nine Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year by the Ballance of Trade with *France*; in the 1688. we lost Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds: So that by a Medium between 1668 and 1688. we must have lost 20 Millions Sterling. On what foot our Trade to *France* was before the Two last Wars with the *French* I know not, nor on what Foot it stands now, having not read the Treaties of Commerce, &c. nor what are the Articles by which we may recover our Immeuse Loss in the Ballance of Trade. I doubt not those whose Business it is to be acquainted with these Things are very well satisfy'd, and that our Advantages will be visible in due Time. It was said in the Address about a War with *France*, for the Security of the Low Countries, which is our Barrier as well as the *Dutch*:

That the Allies were justly provok'd by the Forces we sent daily into the French Service: That we had too much contributed to the Exorbitant Power of *France* by selling *Dunkirk*, by making War against the *Dutch* in 1665: by breaking the Triple League, and joyning with *France*, for which we had much to repent of and to retrieve: That the Nation was United in their Enmity against *France*, and the bent of the People lean'd that way: That

therefore this was the Time to give Reputation to the Common Cause, encourage the Confederates, and save our selves from the Old perpetual Enemies of England.

The House was now so apprehensive of Popery, Things being under the Influence of Popish and other Councils, tending all to Persecution and Cruelty, that they were afraid of Faggots and Smithfield, and in April 1677, repeal'd the *Act De Heretico Comburendo*. At the Close of this Session, there was another Address for a War with France: But his Majesty told them, *They intrench'd on an undoubted Right of the Crown*: *That he was confident, it did not appear in any Age (when the Sword was not drawn) that the Prerogative of making Peace and War had been so dangerously invaded, that he wou'd never suffer this Fundamental Power of making Peace and War to be so far invaded (tho' but once) as to have the Manner and Circumstances of making Leagues prescrib'd by Parliament, &c.* In the Close of his Answer he order'd them to Adjourn. When the Commons return'd to the House, several of the Members rose up, and desir'd to be heard; but the Speaker without suffering the Question to be put for adjourning in common Form, of his own Authority dismiss'd them to the Time the King nam'd, and left the Chair, to the surprize of the whole House. When that Time was out, he adjourn'd them in the same manner Five Months longer, and so a Third time; which daring Act of Arbitrary Power in the Speaker of an Assembly, that are the main Bulwark of the Law and

Part III. of E U R O P E.

35

and Liberty, gave just apprehensions of the Confusion and Ruin that were to be expected from an Administration so little to the ~~Good~~ because so little to the *Interest* of the Nation.

Wou'd one not wonder that such a Parliament so full of *Pensioners*, shou'd have so great an Abhorrence for Popery and a *French League*, that the very *Pensioners* themselves shou'd chuse rather to part with their *Pensions*, than give a Vote in favour of *France* or *Rome*? The Court was out of all Patience to be so us'd by Men they had constantly subsisted, Men who had Tables spread for them at *Westminster* by Sir *John Coplestone* and Sir *Richard Wiseman*, and who instead of *Sweatmeats* us'd to be entertain'd with *Pyramids of Plate* for a *Desert*.

The following List, together with the Votes of Parliament was printed in the Order I publish it; but I must let the Reader know, that all those Gentlemen were not strictly to be term'd *Pensioners*, some of 'em having only Places and Preferments of Profit or Honour, but they were what the List terms them.

1 LIST of one *Unanimous Club* of Voters in His Majesties Long Parliament, Dissolv'd in 78.

Buckinghamshire.

Sir *Robt. Sawyer*, quondam Speaker.

Sir *Ri. Temple. Timb.*
Sir *Humphrey Winch.*

Sir *William Smith*,
Sir *William Drake*,
Sir *William Bowyer*.

D 2

Berk-

Berkshire.	Thomas Walker, Sir Edward Seymour, Speaker.
Sir John Bennet, Richard Aldworth.	Sir Thomas Berry, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir Nicholas Staining, Sir Courtney Paule, Chim.
Cambridgeshire.	Sir Thomas Chicheley, Sir Thomas Hatton, Sir Charles Wheeler, Lord Allington.
Sir Thomas Cholmley, Robert Worden.	Sir Peter Pridgeaux, Sir Henry Ford.
Cheshire.	Dorset.
Sir John Trelawny, Sir John Coryton, Bernhard Greenvile, Sidney Godolphin, Sir W Godolphin, Spain	Lord Latimer, Sir John Shaw, Sir Winston Churchill, George Boreman, George Pitt, Durham.
John Arundel, John Trelawny, Capt.	Coll. John Tempest, Sir Ralph Cole.
John Trelawny, Esq;	Essex.
Charles Osborn, Henry Seymour, Robert Roberts, Lord Hawley, Arthur Sprey, Joseph Tredenham, Sir Cyrel Wych, Sir Boucher Wray, Sir Wm. Godolphin.	Sir John Shaw, Sir John Bramston, Thomas King, Sir Rich. Wiseman, Gloucester.
Carlisle.	Sir Baynham Throgmorton.
Sir Philip Howard, Sir Christ. Musgrave.	Hampshire.
Sir Copplestone Bampfield, Sir James Smith,	Sir Robert Holmes, Lawrence Hide, Sir Richard Ford, Sir George Carteret, Tho. Neal, Brewer, Sir Robert Howard, Robert Phillips, Sir John Holms.

Here

Part. III. of EUROPE.

37

III.	Herefordshire.	William Broxholm, Peregrine Bertie.
	Thomas Price,	Middlesex.
	Herbert Westphaling,	Sir T. Allen, Finchly,
	Sir Tho. Williams.	Sir Philip Warwick.
	Hertfordshire,	Norfolk.
	Sir Rich. Franklin,	Colonel Paston,
	Huntingtonshire.	Mr Briggs, a Grocer,
	Sir John Cotton,	Robert Wright, by his
	Sir Lionel Walden, Pa.	Interest in Cole- man and Pepys, had 40 s. a Day.
	Kent.	Sir William Doyley,
	Sir Tho. Peyton,	Sir Allen Apsley,
	Sir Edward Masters,	Samuel Pepys,
	Thomas Hardress,	Sir Tho. Meadows.
	Tho. Harlakenden,	Northampton.
	Sir Robert Barnham,	Sir Lewis Palmer,
	Jam. Herbert, L. Dan- by's Son-in-Law.	Robert Spencer.
	Sir Richard Head.	Northumberland.
	Lancashire.	Sir John Fenwick,
	Sir Roger Bradshaw,	Sir Ralph Delaval,
	Richard Harrison,	Sir Francis Anderson,
	Edw. Rigby, Welch- Judge,	Sir George Downing,
	Sir John Otway,	Daniel Collingwood,
	Sir John Heath,	Viscount Dunblain.
	Earl Ancram,	Nottinghamshire.
	Sir Geffery Fozakerly, or Shackerly.	Sir Francis Leake,
	Leicestershire.	Henry Savil.
	George Faunt,	Oxfordshire.
	Sir Wm. Hartopp,	Lawrence Hide,
	Sir John Prettyman.	Suffolk Howard.
	Lincolnshire.	Rutlandshire.
	Sir Robert Markham,	Edward Wells.
	Charles Bertie,	Shrop-

Shropshire.

Sir Francis Lantey,
Somerset Fox,
Sir Job Charlton,
George Wild,
Edward Warren,
William Oakely.

Somersetshire.

Sir Wm. Basset,
Lord Fitzharding,
Sir Wm. Wyndham,
Sir Edm. Wyndham,
Thomas Wyndham,
Coll. Edw. Phillips.

Staffordshire,
Randolph Egerton, Capt
Richard Dyot,
— Levison Gower.

Suffolk.

Sir Henry Felton,
Sir Charles Gaudy,
Sir John Pettus,
William Wood,
Sir George Reeves,
Robert Reeves,
Gilbert Lingfield.

Surrey.

Sir Adam Brown,
Sir Tho. Bludworth,
Sir Wm. Hayward,
Sir Edw. Bisse,
Sir John Worden,

Tho. Dalmashay,
Sir Wm. Morley.

Sussex.

Richard May,
Sir John Cowell,
Baptist May,
Sir John Stapley,
Sir Tho. Woodcock,
Henry Goring,
Henry Goring,
Peircey Goring,
Earl of Orrery,
Viscount Longford,

Warwickshire.

Sir Robert Holt
Sir Henry Puckering,
alias Newton.

Westmorland.

Thomas Tufton,

Wiltshire.

Sir Stephen Fox,
Sir John Birkenhead,
Thomas Wanklin,
George Johnson,
Henry Bertie.
Francis Gwin,
Sir Tho. Estcourt,
Sir John Ernely,
Robert Hide,
Henry Clark,
Daniel Finch,
Wm. Ashburnham,
George

Part III. of EUROPE.

George Legg,
Sir Edw. Nicholas.
Sir John Elwes.

Worcestershire.
Thomas Serset,
Henry Coventry,
Sir John Hanmer,

Yorkshire,
Conyers Darcy,
Sir Tho. Slingsby, Coll.
Sir H. Goodrick, Coll.
Sir John Talbot,
Sir John Nicholas,
Sir Edmond Jennings,
Henry Guy,
Sir Solomon Swabe, a
Papist.

Sir Blackmore Risby,
Sir Wm. Wentworth,
Sir Tho. Strickland,

Papist,
Cinque-Ports,

Sir Dennis Ashburnham
Sir John Robinson,
John Hervey,
Collonel Gibbs,
Sir Lionel Jenkins,
John Strond,
John Robinson.

Wales.

Sir Herbert Price,
Sir Charles Cottrell.
Lord Vaughan,
John Wyn,
Sir Thomas Hanmer.

VOTES of the House of Commons concerning Pensioners.

Die Veneris, 23 Maii, 1679.

Ordered, That Sir John Hotham, Sir Robert Peyton, and Sir John Holman, go and bring Sir Stephen Fox, and his Books of Accompt, immediately to the House.

They returning, reported, That Sir Stephen Fox was come to the House.

Ordered, That the same Members go with Sir Stephen Fox to his House, and bring his Ledger, Journal, and his Cash-Books with him, and the Receipts that the Members of the last Parliament gave him for any Money they have receiv'd, and that Sir Stephen Fox do not go out of their company, but return with them to the House.

Sir John Hotham reports, That so soon as they came to Sir Stephen Fox's, the Lord Chamberlain came in and told them, that he durst not suffer any Books or Papers that concern'd the King to go out of his House, without the King's special Leave.

Order'd, That Sir Stephen Fox do name such Members of the last Parliament as he could remember, that receiv'd any Monies for secret Service.

Ordered, That Sir Francis Winnington report to morrow what Members of the last Parliament the Secret Committee knows receiv'd any Pension.

Order'd, That the Clerk read over the Roll, and that Sir Stephen Fox answer to every Name.

	l. p. Ann.
Sir Charles Wheeler	the sum of 400
Sir Jonathan Trelawny	500
Robert Roberts	500
Sir Philip Howard	500
Sir James Smith	500
Sir Courtney Poole	1000
Sir Richard Wiseman	500
Collonel King	200
Thomas Price	400
Mr. Westphaling	200
Hampfrey Cornwall	200
Sir John Barnaby	300
Sir Lionel Walden	300
Daniel Collingwood	300
Sir Job Charlton	1000
Mr. Knolls	200
Robert Philips	300
Randolph Egerton	500
	Sir

1. p. Ann.

Sir George Reeves	500	1
Sir John Duncomb	2000	1
Sir Thomas Woodcock	200	1
Henry Clark	400	1
Sir John Tabot	500	1
Sir Philip Mountain	300	1
Sir John Robinson	1500	1
Mr. Rogers	200	1
Collonel Whistley	300	1

Die Sabbath, 24 Mass, 1679.

Sir Francis Winnington reports, That there was annually paid out of the Excise 20000 l. for Pensions, manag'd by Mr. Charles Bertie by Patent, for which he was to give no account but for secret Service ; that Sir Rich. Wiseman receiv'd 400 l. per Ann. for himself, and 400 l. per Ann. for three more : That Sir Joseph Tredenham, Mr Peircy Go-ring, Sir Robert Holt, Mr. Glascock, and Sir John Johnston, were also Pensioners.

Ordered, That the Auditors of the Excise bring in a List of the Farmers of the Excise, that were before the great Farmers came in.

Ordered, That Mr. Johnson and Mr. Lent be sent for to attend this House, who have paid several of these Pensions ; and that the Speaker issue forth his Warrant for any Witness's that any Member of this House shall inform him of.

Ordered, That the further Consideration of this Debate be Adjourn'd till Tuesday next.

Thursday

Thursday, May 1. 1679.

Ordered, That a Bill be brought in to morrow, that no Members receive any Pensions or Places of Profit, during this Sessions of Parliament.

May 8. 1679.

A Bill for hindring any Members from accepting any Office or Employment from the King, during this Sessions of Parliament, read a second time.

The Practice was, that besides a Dinner, when they had done any eminent Piece of Service, every one found under his Plate such a parcel of Guineas as it was thought his Days Work had merited. The Two Knights before mention'd, Sir Rich. Wiseman and Sir John Coplestone, were allow'd to keep open House at the Foot of the Parliament Stairs. So numerous were these *Hirelings* in that Illustrious Body, that if any Point was there carry'd on the side of the *Country*, it was often but by the poor Majority of Two or Three Voices. An Instance of their Integrity and Uprightness appears in Mr. Bertie's Case at a Committee of Elections between him and Mr. Trenchard, it being carry'd for Mr. Bertie, the Lord *Obrian*, who was related to the then Lord Treasurer, the E. of *Danby*, came to him in Triumph with the News, crying out, *My Lord, we have carry'd the Day, and voted Thirteen more than One and Twenty.* The Charges of the Election of the Pensioners were defray'd, that of *Northampton* amounting to 1400*l.* They all knew their Pay Day, insomuch, that

Part III. of EUROPE.

43

that a Great Officer was pleas'd to say, *They came about him like so many Jack-Daws for Cheese at the end of every Session.* But these Pensioners finding all was at Stake, and that whatever they had of their own as well as whatever they had got of the Court, was in Danger of being made a Prey to the French and Papists, began to be resty, and tho late, to atone for their past Errors, by their Zeal against both the Papists and French.

His Majesty himself ask'd a lofty West Saxon, the Captain of a Band, *What was the Reason of this Revolt of some of the Troops,* the West-Saxon reply'd, *They had been of late neglected, and the Beasts only bellow'd for Fodder.* My Author might be the better qualify'd to inform one of this Secret, having been himself a West-Saxon Member, and had the Honour, in a Competition, to get the better of the famous Sir Edward Seymour, and to be chosen in his Place by a great Majority, the Heads of the Electors not being turn'd by the Rejoycings of the Rabble, the ringing of Bells, and the heats of Bonfires.

There's Reason to believe the Pensioners were taken more Care of than the People, and if they had been negiect'd, it was afterwards suffiently atton'd for. By the Records of the Exchequer, under the Article of Secret Service, it appears there was paid in three Years, from the 25th of March 1676. to the 25th of March 1679. 309556*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* of which 294916*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* was in Mr. B—'s Name, besides 84640*l.* to be distributed by Mr. B— in New-Year's

Year's Gifts, as he should be privately directed.

His Majesty in Answer to the Commons Address, as has been laid already, insisted mightily on his Prerogative, as to making Peace or War; and says, no President could be had of Parliament's intermeddling with what was the undoubted Right of the Crown: But alas! that very Parliament advis'd the first Dutch War twelve Years before this Address; and again the French War in the following Session, when their intermeddling was approv'd of, because it was accompany'd with a round Subsidy, and the Court knew the War would come to nothing. Don *Bernardo de Salinas*, the Spanish Envoy, told some of the Members of the House of Commons, that the King highly resented the Matter of the Address, and said, *The Authors of it were a Company of Rogues*, for which he was order'd to depart the Kingdom.

The Prince of *Orange* coming to *England*, and marrying her Highness the Princess *Mary*, gave the Confederates Hopes, that if King *Charles* could not procure them good Terms of Peace from *France* by *Mediation*, he would do it by a War, into which he shew'd himself so ready to enter, that a Poll-Tax was granted, and in six Weeks time an Army of 30000 Men levy'd, Foreign Ministers confessing no Prince in *Europe* could have made such a Levy of so good Troops in so short a Time. Notwithstanding all this Shew, the French who had the King's Affection, were sure of the Duke's

Duke's Heart, and had perhaps the Heads of some of the Ministry in their Power, took no Umbrage, they knew 'twas done to amuse the Nation and the Confederates, and their Ambassador continu'd his Court, without resenting this Pace of his Majesty, or having any uneasiness.

The French King enter'd the Heart of the Netherlands, took Ghent and Ypres, publishing a Declaration of the Terms upon which he alone would give the Allies Peace. He set a Day for them to accept them, and if they did not, he would not be limited by them. He now began that Imperious way of Treating, which he us'd afterwards, till her present Majesty's Victorious Arms compell'd him to beg her Mercy, and to implore her to put a stop to the Progress of her Invincible General the Duke of Marlborough, who, attended by Victory, was making his Way to his Capital. He then alter'd his Tone, but how apt to renew it when her Majesty's Clemency had put a stop to his Fears, the last Treaty informs us. The Terms he propos'd, as Extravagant as they appear'd, with whatever Indignation the English and the rest of Europe receiv'd them, prov'd the Plan of the Peace at Nimeguen ; ' So effectually, says my Author, was it concert'd between the Two Crowns, that the Honour and Interest of the People of England, and the Money and Forces rais'd for an actual War against France, should be turn'd against the Confederates, and the Spirit of France exalted to treat all the Sovereign Princes

- Princes in the Alliance in the same Stile
- Kings use to their Rebellious Subjects
- when in Arms against them.

The Parliament made Resolves and Addresses to the contrary, but all to no purpose. In one of their Resolves it was said, That an Address should be made to his Majesty to agree with the rest of the Confederates to prohibit all Trade with France, and that all other Princes and States be invited in the said Confederation, and that no Truce or Peace be made with France by any of the Confederates, without the consent of all Parties; all which signify'd nothing, and both the Dutch and Parliament conceiv'd an incurable Jealousy of our Court. The French Emissaries were not only busy in England, but they labour'd also indefatigably in Holland to divide that People, and bring them into their own Pacifick Measures. They insinuated to 'em, that since the Prince of Orange's Marriage, the King and Duke had drawn over the Prince to the Interest of France, and that there was a private Understanding between them, to the Danger of the Liberties of Holland, which had the Effect they desir'd. It made the Dutch Jealous of the Prince, destroy'd the Confidence in him which he deserv'd, and prepar'd the Way for the Dutch to comply with the hard Terms propos'd by France in the Treaty of Nimeguen. The Prince did all he could, without making a Breach in the Constitution, to oppose that Peace, but as a very good Author informs us, the Conduct of England had spread such a Humour and Diffidence in the States, that it was

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not to be avoided, the other Confederates loudly exclam'd at the Arbitrary Terms to which they were, as it were, commanded to submit by France as a Conqueror. They cry'd out they were abandon'd and betray'd into so fatal a Conjecture. Their Complaints avail'd no more than the Parliament's Addresses ; the Peace was concluded, and France gain'd her Ends. The Army that was rais'd against Her in England, was now become the Terror of the Nation. Above 800000 l. was given to disband it. Thus the same Author has it, *In six Months time it cost the Kingdom a Million to procure such a Peace as the French desired.*

He goes on, *Such was the End of the fatal War begun by France against the Dutch and their Confederates in 1672. by which the French King dissolv'd the Confederacy against him, extended his Dominions, seiz'd on great Tracts of Land, had Time given him to refresh his Troops and maintain great part of them by his Conquest, to make a very considerable Addition to his Fleet, to settle a better Oeconomy in his Finances, and replenish it with Treasure, the deplorable Effects of all which we have groan'd under ever since.*

All Europe saw plainly that the King of England acted only as he was directed by the Councils of France, and his Ambassadors at Nimeguen were look'd on rather as Ambassadors from an Ally of Lewis XIV. than Mediators. Sir Wm. Temple was honest, and would gladly have serv'd the Confederates if he could. Sir Lionel Jenkins every one knew to be a Court Tool. There was some

some time after the Peace an Account of the Treaty of Nimeguen, written in French by Monsieur D'Avaux's Secretary, in which is this Character of the two British Ministers. Sir Wm. Temple says the Frenchman was too much a Friend to the Allies, and too little a Friend to us; Nay, he could not be brought to consent to some Things in our Favour, which the King his Master had allow'd him to do, but he vouches for Sir Lionel, that he was a good Mediator.

After the Peace the Lords and Commons had Conferences about the Danger of Popery, the Fears of which were very strong and General. Warrants of Dispensations were granted to Papists to continue in their Commands and Impositions, and new Commissions given 'em, countersign'd by Sir Jas. Williamson, Secretary of State, which being discover'd and produc'd to the House of Commons, on the 18th of November 1678. they sent the Secretary to the Tower. As much as I have read and heard of the Popish Plot, as much I believe there were then and still have been Designs of the Papists to introduce Popery; I must own, I cannot give Faith to all that was sworn and said of the Popish Plot. I doubt not there is a great deal of Conjecture in the Case, and that those Designs remain with that great Work of Darkness the Imposture of the Pretender hid among the deepest *Arcana* of the Papists. I shall not pretend to dive into them, nor being encourag'd by the Success of any who have gone before me. A Plot in general no body questions, and the highest Flyer

Part III. of EUROPE.

43

Flyer in Britain must be stupid, if he does not go so far as Dryden in his *Absalom and Achitophel*:

From hence began that Plot the Nations Curse,
Bad in itself, but represented worse;
Succeeding Times did equal Folly call,
Believing nothing or believing all.

It is not to be doubted but the Papists were then very busy in endeavouring to secure the Duke of York's Succession, and confirming the Secret League with France, to advance the Grand Design of converting these Three Kingdoms to Popery: That Treasonable Correspondences were held, and Measures taken: That they were impatient to see the Duke of York on the Throne; but whether they wou'd have murder'd King Charles, who was no Enemy of theirs, and probably wou'd have come into all their Measures, if he cou'd have done it with safety, I am not so fully convinc'd of as of the Methods they took to render the Protestants Odious to his Majesty, by representing them as Enemies to Him and Monarchy, and in a Conspiracy against him and his Government. King Charles was a Prince of excellent Sense and Humanity: He prefer'd his Pleasures to Politicks, and wou'd not interrupt his own Ease to make the best part of his Subjects uneasy: For this Reason he was ready enough to indulge those of them who had *Scrupulous Consciences*, and the Papists knowing they cou'd not destroy the Church till

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the *Dissenters* were destroy'd; for as soon as the High Party found themselves too in Peril, the Union amongst all wou'd presently tear the Popish Faction to pieces, they then did their utmost to blacken them, and put the King out of Humour with them. The *High-Flyers*, who had never the best Eyes in the Kingdom, did not see thro' their Artifices, but blinded with their Zeal against the *Fanaticks*, they too bellow'd as loudly against them, and they and all Men of Moderation were represented to the King as a Crew of *Rebels* and *Republicans*. In the beginning of the Year 1678, they form'd a Plot against the *Fanatick*, and some of the surviving Officers of the Parliament Army; they procur'd Evidence to prove an intended Assassination, and with the Circumstances that wou'd have thrown it upon them, had the *Papists* thought fit to perpetrate the bloody Fact themselves. Mr. *Claypole*, Oliver's Son-in-Law, was sent to the Tower, and the *Irish* Evidence had probably born their Venal Testimony against him to his Destruction, had not the Discovery of the *Popish Plot* luckily interven'd; upon which *Claypole* was presently releas'd, the pretended Evidence stifled, and no body wou'd own the Charge against him, or upon what Information he was committed, for fear the Examination of it might have afforded new Proofs of the *Popish Conspiracy*.

The *Papists* had been some time buzzing into the King's Ears the wicked Machinations of the *Fanaticks*, and repeated it so often

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Part III. of E U R O P E.

51

often, that at last his Majesty hearken'd to it, and thought them to be as bad as they were made to be. When they found he gave Credit to them, they took Care always to keep his Jealousy and Fear warm. Their chief Agent was Sir *Nicholas Butler*, who had been a sort of Independent Preacher and Quack, a Fellow of such Villainous Principles, that when he was Commissioner of the Customs in King *James's* Time, he made no scruple to receive Bribes openly from the Merchants, which I my self know to be Fact. However, he was a Favourite and Privy Councillor in that glorious Reign, as a Reward for his Services in the preceding One. He was the *Papist's* Spy, and had a constant Salary out of the Privy Purse, to find or make Plots among the *Round-Heads*. Under the Notion of his being an *Old Parliamentarian* and a *Malecontent*, he insinuated himself into their Company about Town, took all Occasions to talk against the Government, to rail at the King, the Duke, and the Ministry, to exclaim against Monarchy, and extol a Commonwealth. His pretended Zeal very often transported him so far as to border upon Treason, and to suggest desperate Hints against the Government. By these and other Artifices, the *Trayor* endeavour'd to draw several Persons into Treasonable Practices, all which from Time to Time he communicated to the King with malicious Aggravations as to the Inclinations of the Party he convers'd with; accusing them to him, for the Discourses and Intrigues he

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himself was the Author of, by which his Majesty was frequently alarm'd and led into an Opinion, they were a People that struck at his Authority and his Life.

One Year, a Day or Two before my Lord Mayor's Show, to which the King was invited, *Butler* came to Court, and told his Majesty, he had just discover'd a Conspiracy against his Life, and that the *Fanatics* resolv'd to execute it on my Lord Mayor's Day: That they had prepar'd a Cross-Bow for that purpose, which had the Force of a Gun, and with it they intended to shoot him from *Bow Steeple*, as he stood in the Balcony at the *Angel* in *Cheapside* to see the Pageants. Upon this Sir *Robert Southwell*, then one of the Clerks of the Council, was sent to *Bow Church* early in the Morning to observe the Conspirators, that on a Signal given they might be seiz'd. Sir *Robert* got up into the Church at the Place assign'd by *Butler*, and there attended till the Pageants were come into *Cheapside*, when he perceiv'd a lusty rugged Fellow press forward to look into the Street, with a great Coat on, and something strutting out under it. Sir *Robert Southwell* presently concluded that was the Person he wanted, so he got near him, and with as little Suspicion as might be, he endeavour'd to feel for the Cross-Bow. The Man finding him fumble about his Cloaths star'd at him, and if Sir *Robert's* Aspect and Dress had not shewn him to be a Person of Quality, he fancy'd the Fellow wou'd have secur'd him for

for a *Pick-Pocket*. But at last Sir *Robert* spy'd the fatal *Engine* under his Coat. It seems the Man was a Carpenter, and had a great Rule stuck into his Girdle. Thus was the Plot discover'd, and his Majesty's Life out of Danger. Many such Sham Informations had the King from *Butler*, who always pretended the Conspirators had been disappointed, or that they had taken new Measures, when the Event did not agree with his Story. By these Practices he deluded the King, and fill'd him with Fears and Jealousies, to make himself useful and keep his Pension. He was by this means very serviceable to the Popish Faction, who had a mighty Value for him: Besides, he gratify'd his Majesty's Humour in it; for it being sour'd by the Opposition he had met with from the Parliament, he came to have a delight in such dark Intrigues, and was fond of any thing that gave Colour to a Plot among the *Dissenters*, who lost their Favour at Court as they grew more in Favour with the Parliament. *Butler* after the Abdication of King *James* return'd again to the Conventicle, and liv'd a while neglected and despis'd by all Parties.

I omitted in my former Parts to take Notice of a Grievance in this Reign, by which the *English* suffer'd more than the *French* Pensions amounted to, and that was the taking of as many *English* Ships in Time of Peace by *French* Privateers as were said to be worth, Cargoes and all, near a Million Sterling. I have seen Lists of these Ships and their Owners, who with all their

Interest cou'd not procure Satisfaction, tho'
among them I find

The St. John, John St. John, Master,
belonging to the Earl of Bolingbroke.

The Sherard of Boston, To the Lord Sherard.

The Oak, To Sir John Frederick.

The Lady of Virginia, To Sir Arthur Ingram.

And above a hundred more to other considerable Merchants, some of which were taken with this insolent Circumstance, that the Captains of the French Capers bid the Masters of the English Ships, Go tell their King of it: Yet little or no Redress was had to the Complaints of the English Owners. 'Tis true, Sir Ellis Leighton, who had been sent for out of Ireland to be Secretary to the English Ambassador in France, had Orders to sollicite this Matter at that Court, where instead of getting Relief he was very Passive and Patient, sharing the Profits of the Prizes with the Frenchmen, or taking large Bribes to be quiet. This Man returning to London, and being question'd before the King and Council, he spoke very imtemperately, presuming on the Protection of his Patron Louis Le Grand, and saying among other things, *He wonder'd how these Merchants dar'd to speak any thing against the greatest King in Europe, as the King of France was.* The King was so displeas'd at his Impudence, that he order'd him to be committed, every one hearing him with Indignation tell his Majesty to his Face there was a greater King than himself. Notwithstanding this Insolence, and a Representation

sentation of a Committee of the Privy Council sign'd by

The Lord Chancellor Finch,
The Earl of Anglesey, L. P. S.
The Earl of Bridgewater,
The Earl of Craven.

Mr. Secretary Coventry,
Sir George Carteret,
Sir John Ernle.

The Matter was in a manner hush'd up, and our dear Friends the French robb'd us of so great a Treasure to the Ruin of so many hundred Families, who had no more Relief than the unhappy Creditors of the Exchequer. The Parliament complain'd of these Things, but till the Popish Plot broke out, their Complaints were Grimace, and the Treasurer every Pay-Day gave them full Satisfaction; but at last, when they began to fall upon the Duke and Property, and to speak of France as an Enemy, they were dissolv'd, and another Parliament appointed to meet at Westminster the 6th of March 1678.

At the opening of that Session there appear'd the same Zeal for the Security of the Religion and Laws of the Kingdom, as at the Close of the last, and the Court having taken Disgust at a good Friend of theirs, Edward Seymour, Esq; Speaker of the last long Parliament when it was dissolv'd, refus'd to accept of him as such. The Commons having chosen him, intended to present him the next Day, when the Usher

of the Black Rod came down with a Message for them to attend his Majesty in the House of Lords, where, being come, his Majesty sitting in his Robes, the Crown upon his Head, Mr. Seymour spoke thus to him: ' That he having been graciously pleased to give Leave to the House of Commons to chuse them a Speaker, they had unanimously pitch'd upon him for their Speaker, and that he was willing to serve his Majesty, and them, to the utmost of his Power. ' To which the King made no Reply, but the Lord Chancellor stood up and spoke to this effect: ' That if his Majesty should always accept a Person pitch'd upon by the House of Commons, then it would be no great Favour to be chosen a Speaker, and therefore his Majesty, as being the best Judge of Persons and Things, thought fit to except against Mr. Seymour, as being fitly qualify'd for other Services and Employments, without giving any Reason to the Persons chusing, or the Person chosen, and therefore order'd them to pitch upon some other Person by to Morrow Eleven a Clock to be presented to his Majesty for his probation. ' The Commons immediately return'd to their House, where Sir John Ernle stood up and acquainted them, ' That he had Orders from his Majesty to recommend Sir Thomas Meers to them for their Speaker, as a Person well known in the Method and Practices of Parliaments, and a Person he thought would be acceptable and serviceable to them. ' This put

put the House into a Flame, and they cry'd out, *No, No.* Then several Members spoke, in whose Speeches there appearing a brave Old English Spirit, I doubt not the Reader will be pleas'd to meet them in the following Order.

Mr. Sacheverell.

It was never known that a Person should be excepted against, and no Reason at all given. It is done on purpose to gratify some particular Persons, for Mr. Seymour is a Man who perform'd the Service formerly without Complaint, and as he would not consent to the Prejudice of one Hair of the Crown or Prerogative, so he will not infringe the Liberty of the People, in parting with the least of their just Rights.

Mr. Williams.

This seems to be a Question of Right; for above a hundred Years past it has not been known that any Speaker presented to the Kings or Queens of England, were ever excepted against without some Reason given, or for some great Cause, and the Thing in itself of presenting him to the King, is, I humbly conceive, but a bare Complement. If we suffer this we shall be put upon daily; let us adjourn for the present.

Sir Thomas Clarges.

There were Parliaments long before there were Speakers chosen, and afterwards for the ease of the House, among themselves they pitch'd upon a Speaker: Besides, I can prove not long since that Parliaments have adjourn'd themselves de die in diem for fourteen Days together without

without any Speaker among them, and the Clerk of the House always put the Word for Adjournment. Gentlemen, All our Lives and Liberties are to be preserv'd by this House, and therefore we are to preserve the Liberties of it.

Mr. Garraway.

If you admit this, you would admit any thing; if Dr. Seymour were rejected from being Speaker, and no Reason given, pray who must chuse a Speaker, the King or we? It's plain not we. I remember when Popham was Speaker he was rejected, but the Reason was given because he had been wounded, and was sickly, and another for not being able to endure, by reason of disability of Body, but nothing of this can be objected against Mr. Seymour, he being an approv'd Person by his Majesty the last Parliament.

Sir Thomas Lee.

I cannot forget how we Address'd our selves to his Majesty last Parliament, as fearing his Person to be in danger, by reason of the Plot, but we receiv'd no Answer at all in a whole Week, from Monday to Monday, when we were immediately prorogu'd unexpectedly, and immediately after dissolv'd as unexpectedly. And I suppose the same Persons that gave that Advice gave this also. To except against a Speaker, without giving a Reason, is to do any thing that may set us together by the Ears, and then they have their design'd Ends, but I shall not consent to part with the least Right that belongs to my Country, for whom I am chosen a Representative,

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Colonel Birch.

He that Advis'd this will readily Advise more, I'll warrant you. This is only a Bone cast among us. I thought we could not have oblig'd his Majesty more than to pick upon a Privy-Counsellor, and one in so great favour with his Majesty, and in several great Places and Im- plements under him: Besides, Yesterday he was at Whitehall, after we had chosen him Speaker, to acquaint his Majesty with it, and then his Majesty was very well pleas'd with the Choice; and for the Truth of this, I appeal to Mr. Seymour himself: But this ill Advice is given since by some, I fear, too near the King, I shall not touch upon Prerogative; but let's think of Adjournment at present.

Mr. Powle.

This is an Ominous Thing to stumble at the Threshold before we are in the House; but this Advice must proceed from some who are too near the King, and fearful we should agree; but I hope there is no man here, a Representative of his Country, that is fearful of speaking his Mind freely in favour of those whom he represents, nor yet afraid of being dissolv'd, if it be to Morrow, for maintaining the Right of those who chose them to sit here for them. I will not invade Prerogative, neither will I consent to the Infringement of the least Liberty of my Country; but let us do nothing hastily, but consider Presidents and adjourn our selves till to Morrow Nine a Clock. To which the whole House agreed.

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When they met next this Debate was resum'd, and had any other Man than Mr. Seymour been rejected, 'tis probable the House had insisted upon his being accepted; but he was no Favourite of the Parliaments, and tho' to serve some private End or other he had on two or three Occasions shewn a Zeal for their Rights and Privileges, yet in the main they knew him to be as *Staunch* a *Courtier* as he was a *Churchman*, and as such they did not think it worth their while to give themselves much Trouble for his sake, so they chose a Man more worthy of their Favour, whom the King thought fit to accept of, rather than give them new Cause of Disgust with his Counsellors. One of the first Things they did was to Vote the Plot as the last Parliament had done. They proceeded vigorously against the Earl of *Danby* and the *Popish* Lords. They were hearty in the Busines of the Exclusion, and gave such Offence to the Court, that not having sat quite two Months, they were prorogu'd, and then dissolv'd, Writs being issu'd for another Parliament to sit the 17th of *December*, 1679. from thence prorogu'd to the 26th of *January*, thence to the 15th of *April* 1680. thence to the 17th of *May*, thence to the 23d of *August*, and thence to the 21st of *October*, of whose Proceedings some mention will be made, after I have said something more of those of the former *Westminster* Parliament, which began the 6th of *March*, 1678.

I have

I have already treated of the Earl of Danby's Correspondence with *France*, and his Impeachment, to which I shall only add that the Letter he wrote to Mr. *Montague*, of the 25th of *March*, 1678. about the Money for the *French* King, was written but five Days after the Poll-Bill pass'd to raise a Naval and Land Force for an actual War with *France*, in which he pretended to be so hearty, that he caus'd a Book to be publish'd, entitul'd, *Christianissimum Christianandus*, wherein *Lewis XIV.* is represented as black as Hell itself, to use the Words of my Author. Yet his Most Christian Majesty made no Complaint, and the Treasurer was all the while as well with the *French* Court, as he could wish to be. While his Impeachment depended, Mr. *Powle*, afterwards Speaker of the Convention Parliament; made the following Speech in the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker,

I should have been pleas'd to have heard somewhat omitted, needful to have been spoken unto from some other Member of this House, rather than my self. It is concerning the Earl of Danby, who stands impeach'd by the Commons of England of High Treason.

The Person to whom we owe the Dangers and Fears of the French King against us.

The Person to whom we owe the Threats and severe Answers to those humble Addresses we made the last Sessions of Parliament.

The

The Person to whom we owe the Ruin of this Nation, and exhausting the King's Revenue.

The Person to whom we owe the Expence of 200000l. and upwards within a Year, unaccounted for.

The Person to whom we owe the raising of a standing Army to be kept up by the Receipt of six Millions of Livres Yearly for three Years; together to enslave us and our Religion.

The Person to whom we owe the late Renc that was thrown in the sitting of the last Parliament, to hinder the good Issue that might have come by their Proceedings, who is now laying down his Staff, and making up his Accomplices in the Treasury as he pleases; to enrich himself out of the Spoils of the People, and so depart.

My humble Motion is, that a Message be sent immediately to the Lords from the Commons of England, to desire their Lordships that Thomas Earl of Danby be immediately committed to safe Custody, he being impeach'd by the Commons of England of High Treason.

This Speech ought to be compar'd with the Panegyricks bestow'd on this Lord lately, of his being a Champion for the Church, and a Patriot in the State; and I communicate it for the Honour of the Party who glory'd so much in having him on their side. His Plea of Pardon would not perhaps have had the Success it met with, if a squabble had not happen'd between the two Houses about trying him and the five Popish Lords. The Commons were

were for trying him first, the Lords for the Tryal of the *Papish Peers* first. The Commons,

Resolv'd, *That the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in any Proceedings against the Lords in the Tower.*

The Lords wou'd not agree that the Bishops shou'd be disabled from Voting, and what a Melancholly prospect had the True Sons of the Church, when their Spiritual Fathers cou'd not be trusted, when they were afraid that the very Bishops wou'd so far favour Popery as to clear the *Papish Conspirators* against her: Then she might justly be said to be in *Danger*, and ever will she be so, when Prelates are made by Friends to *France*. Tho' the Majority of the House of Peers were for bringing off the Earl of *Danby* and the five Lords, by insisting on the Rights of the Lords Spiritual, yet a good Number of that August Assembly bore their Testimony against it, and enter'd their Dissent the 27th Day of May 1679. As the

The D. of *Buckingham*,
The E. of *Huntington*,
The E. of *Kent*,
The E. of *Shaftsbury*,
The E. of *Bedford*,
The M. of *Winchester*,
The E. of *Rochester*,
The Lord *North* and

Grey,
The E. of *Suffolk*,
The Lord *Lovelace*,

The Ld. *Townshend*,
The Lord *Herbert*,
The Lord *Gray*,
The E. of *Stanford*,
The Ld. *Visc. New-*
port,

The Lord *Visc. Say*
and *Seal*,
The Lord *Wharton*,
The E. of *Leicester*,
The E. of *Scarsdale*,

The

The E. of Strafford,
The E. of Derby,
The Ld. Delamer,
The Ld. Howard,
The Ld. Paget,

The E. of Clare,
The E. of Salisbury,
The Ld. Visc. Falcon-
berg,
The Ld. Windsor.

Tho' the Treasons of the Five Popish Lords are not made out so clearly as was necessary to convict them, yet no body doubted of their Guilt, and the Suspicion of it was the more violent, for that such Care was taken to obstruct their Prosecution, there was Information given indeed that wou'd have stuck close to them, had the Informer been a Person of any tolerable Credit, I mean *Dangerfield*, who had been a Rascal from a Child; had serv'd the Dutch as a Spy, and been whipp'd from one Country to another. However, this too must be said, that there never was nor will be a Villainous Design carry'd on but Villains must be employ'd in it, and therefore 'tis not strange to find, that the Discoveries that were made of the Traiterous Designs of the *Papists* were made by Rogues. What is most wonderful to me, is, that so many of their *Narratives* shou'd speak of the Conspiracies to kill King *Charles II.* who was doubtless a Papist himself, as will be prov'd hereafter. *Pickering* and *Grove* were hang'd for a *Plot* to shoot him, and *Dangerfield* afterwards taken into Service by *Mrs. Collier* for the same purpose, if Credit can be given to his Deposition before the Lord Mayor of the 31st of *October, 1679.* wherein he says, *That having been discharg'd out of Newgate*

gate by means of that Popish Midwife, he was sent for to the Tower, whither he went in Disguise, and after much Discourse with my Lord Powis, he was carry'd into a Room where my Lord Arundel was, who having talk'd to him some time, ask'd him if he wou'd do any thing to make his Fortune. Dangerfield said Yes, I will do any thing. Well then, said he, Will you kill the King for a good Reward? You self, Sir, says Dangerfield. My Lord Arundel ask'd him again; he reply'd, Any body but the King and his Royal Brother. No, says my Lord, I don't mean so, but tell me, Will you do it? The Man answer'd No, without Time to consider on't. Then said my Lord Powis, No, No, come, my Lord Arundel does only this try you; and pray my Lord Arundel, continues Lord Powis, What will you give him to do so? 'Tis worth, said the Lord Arundel, 2000 l. No, No, says the Lord Powis, You shall do that to my Lord Shaftsbury, and shall have 500 l. for your Reward. Tho' there is no great dependance to be made on the Evidence of such Profligates, whose Crimes having brought 'em so near the Gallows, they might be too ready to swear any thing to save their Lives, and make their Fortunes; tho' the People had then a general Abhorrence for Popery, and any thing that blacken'd the Papists was greedily swallow'd, yet one cannot tell how far their Impatience to have a Popish Bigotted King on the Throne might transport 'em. King Charles was not like to give himself much Trouble on this Account, and the Danger they fear'd from the Parliament requir'd a

more Zealous Prince to deliver them out of it. This may probably put them upon such bloody Enterprizes against the King, he not being the first Catholick Prince murder'd by them for want of Zeal. However, I shall wave this Subject, which might urge by several other corroborating Circumstances and convincing Arguments, but since I cannot find in the most Secret Part of his History, that he ever gave them any Provocation to deal so barbarously by him, I shall not dwell on a thing that will not carry its own Credit into it. The best use the Faction made of *Dangerfield* was to bring a *Presbyterian Plot* on the Stage, to take off the Edge of the Prosecution of the *Popish*. They had been forc'd to let *Mr. Claypole* out of the *Tower*, and to put a Stop to his Prosecution: But now they resolv'd, by means of this bold Adventurous Fellow, to charge all the chief Protestant Nobility and Gentry, as well as all the Dissenters, with a Conspiracy, to raise an Army to subvert the Government. The Lady *Powis* is said to have the best Head of all that Faction, the Lord *Shaftsbury* gave her that Character, and she it was who wrote the Letters and contriv'd the List that *Dangerfield* by *Cellier's* Direction, dropt in *Coll. Mansel's* Lodgings in *Axe Yard, Westminster*, which having done he got a Custom-house Officer to search the House, under pretence of searching for *Flanders Lace*, and to take himself with him as an Assistant; coming into the Collonel's Room, he pretended to find the Papers he had stuck up behind the Bed-

Beds-head, cry'd out, Treason, and bid the Custom-house Officer carry them to the Secretary of State. Happy was it for the Protestant Religion and its Defenders, that the Officer knowing his Duty better than Dangerfield, carry'd them to the Commissioners of the Customs, who upon Collonel Mansel's first Representation of the Matter, restor'd them to him, and he immediately apply'd to the King and Council, who having taken a full Examination of this horrid Conspiracy, committed Dangerfield to Newgate by the Name of Willoughby, which he went by at that time. The Commitment was as follows.

These are in His Majesty's Name to require you to take into Custody the Person of Thomas Willoughby herewith sent you, for forging of Letters importing High Treason, and fixing the same privately at Mr Mansel's Chamber, to render him Guilty thereof without Cause: And you are to keep him safe till he shall be deliver'd by due Course of Law, for which this shall be your Warrant.

Council Chamber, Whitehal, October the 27th, 1679.

Worcester,	Henry Coventry,
Bridgwater,	Henry Capel,
Falconbridge,	Henry Powle,
Francis North,	John Nicholas,

To the Keeper of Newgate,
Or his Deputy.

It has been observ'd, that King *Charles* in the latter part of his Reign, grew Jealous of his Protestant Subjects, and lost much of that sweetnes of Temper which made himself and his People so happy in the former part of it, and the *Papists* and their Faction cou'd not carry on their wicked Machinations against our Religion and Liberties, unless they entirely ruin'd the Credit of the Moderate Churchmen and Dissenters; therefore the Invention of Protestant Plot wou'd, they thought, recover their lost Reputation, and establish their Power for ever. Tho' it cannot be suppos'd that the King knew any thing of their Devices, yet his Royal Ear was too open to Informers; for the Paper being got in a readiness, *Dangerfield* had access to the Duke of *York*, and afterward to the King, whom he inform'd of Treasonable Clubs and Designs, which were to have been prov'd by the Discovery of the Papers taken in Coll. *Mansel's* Lodgings. In those Papers were several pretended Minutes of Resolutions at several Meetings, and an Account of the chief Persons and Commanders, Civil and Military, that were to be employ'd, if the Conspiracy had succeeded.

Duke of *Buckingham*,
 Earl of *Shaftsbury*,
 Earl of *Essex*,
 Earl of *Radnor*,
 Earl of *Hallifax*,
 Lord *Wharton*.

Counsellors.

Dub

Duke of Monmouth, General.
Earl of Macclesfield,
Lord Brandon Gerrard,
Lord Grey, Lieut. Generals.
Sir Tho. Armstrong,
Collonel Blood,
Sir William Waller. Maj. Generals.

With more such dangerous Hints, and many more Names of Managers at Coffee houses and Taverns. A Copy of this Paper upon searching *Cellier's House* was found also in her *Meal-Tub*, and 'tis easy to imagine what wou'd have been the bloody Consequence of this Plot, had it not been so happily detected. Let not us of the Orthodox Establish'd Church flatter our selves, that our known Principles of Loyalty wou'd have protected us, had we had the least Love for Liberty, or Charity for our Neighbours; since tho' the Faction compos'd of Papists and *Persecutors*, endeavour'd to palm this upon the Nation as a *Presbyterian Plot*, 'tis plain most of the Gentlemen they wou'd have destroy'd by it were Men of the most Orthodox Principles, as a Gentleman of our Church, who was devoted to Destruction with the rest, writes on this Occasion: *Of all those Noble Persons*, says he, *the Conspirators had nominated for a Council of State to manage this War against the Government, not above One could with any tolerable Propriety of Speech be call'd a Presbyterian*, none being more worthy Persons, nor any more really and more zealously devoted to the *True Interest of this Church*. *The Duke*

of Monmouth, whom they created General over this terrible Army, the Lord Gray, the Lord Macclesfield, the Lord Brandon Gerard, who with Sir Thomas Armstrong were commission'd for Lieutenant Generals, were none of 'em ever suspected of Presbyterianism, and shou'd I look over the Clubs where the Metal-Tub Intelligence informs us, that the Persons who were there employ'd as Writers and Messengers into the Country, when occasion should require, were all to be Field Officers, yet among these I cannot pick out half a Dozen Presbyterians. Fanaticism was then made use of as a Pretence to divide the Protestant Interest, and on the Ruins of our Liberty and Religion to establish Popery and Slavery. Mr. Chiffinch introduc'd Dangerfield to the King, with whom he was alone in his Closet, and Coll. Halsal was order'd to pay him 40*l.* There were several other Lords and Ladies concern'd in this Conspiracy, which being discover'd, for a while gave Vigour to the Prosecution of the Popish Plot, and animated the Lovers of Liberty in the Defence of it: One wou'd wonder that after the Discovery of this and another such Traiterous Contrivance to destroy the Protestants, of which mention will be made in the Sequel of this History, the Nation cou'd ever be impos'd upon to give such Credit to a Third, as to murder so many Noble Innocent Persons as fell afterwards on that Account. The same Day that Dangerfield was sent to Newgate, Mrs. Cellier was also sent thither; but the former being afraid that he shou'd be brought

Part III. of EUROPE.

77

brought to an Account for the guilt of the Libel, four Days after confess'd the whole Intrigue, and several others, to my Lord Mayor, too long to be inserted in this History, tho' our Historians have thought fit, out of Tenderness to the Memory of the Offenders, to leave his Confession still a Secret. Mrs. Celler behav'd herself with all the Impudence imaginable, and after several Hearings before the King and Council, she was order'd to be try'd for High Treason. I shall not enter into a detail of her Examination, and only take Notice of one Passage, which serves to shew the Assurance of this Female Plotter, and the good Humour of the Prince that assisted at her Examination. Adams was one of the Evidences against her.

Adams. *Your Bawdy Story I left out of the Depositions, I was ashay'd to speak it.*

King. *What can she speak Bawdy too?*

Adams. *Yes indeed she did.*

Ld. Chanc. *Ay, She's fit for any thing.*

Cel. *My Lord, I never spoke an immodest Word in my Life. Mr. Adams, tho' you contrive to take away my Life, do not take away my Honour ? What did I say ?*

King. *What did she say ? Come tell us the story.*

Adams. *She said — She said — that — She said — That if she did not lose her Hands, she could get Money as long as — — —*

King. *As long as what ? Out with it.*
[Adams made as if she was affain'd, and could not speak such Words.]

Cel. *I said, If I did not lose my Hands I should get Money as long as Men kiss'd their Wives.*

Adams. *By the Oath I have taken, She said their Mistresses too.*

Cel. *Did I so, pray what else do they keep for?*

Ld. Chanc. *That was but Witry.*

King. *'Twas but her Natural Practice.*

It is observable, that tho' she was several times Examin'd by the Council and the King present, yet his Majesty did not in Person manage any part of the Examination but this. This Conspiracy, and the Jealousies that were conceiv'd of the Duke for the Countenance he had given to the chief Conspirator, alienated the Hearts of the People more and more from him, and gave those who oppos'd his Succession, a Topick to Argue upon, which they improv'd without Doors and within.

The Proceedings about the Bill of Exclusion are so well known, that it would be impertinent to bring them into a Secret History; but there are some things relating to it which deserve a Place in it. It pass'd the House of Commons by a very great Majority, and the best Gentlemen in England espous'd it. Some of their Descendants may perhaps be confounded to find the Names of their Illustrious Ancestors among those Bold Assertors of Liberty, I shall therefore spare them that Confusion, and only repeat part of a Speech made in the House of Lords after that Bill was rejected

jected, the then Bishops to a Man voting against it. I take some select Paragraphs of the Speech, they being very Curious, and give a lively Image of the State of Affairs at that Juncture.

My L O R D S,

THIS Noble Lord near me hath found Fault with that President that he supposes I offer'd your Lordships, concerning the Chargeable Ladies at Court; but I remember no such Thing I said, but if I must speak of 'em, I shall say as the Prophet did to King Saul, What means the bleating of this kind of Cattle: And I hope the King will make me the same Answer, That he preserves them for Sacrifice. For there must be, in plain English, my Lords, a Change, we must neither have Popish Wife, nor Popish Favourite, nor Popish Mistress, nor Popish Counsellor at Court, &c.

The Boldness of this Speech may be imagin'd by the last Paragraph. ' However, we know who hears, and I am glad of this, that you have dealt so honourably and so clearly in the King's Presence, and in the King's Hearing, that he cannot say he wants a right State of Things, he hath it before him, and may take Council as he thinks fit.' There was then a Spirit of Freedom which animated both Lords and Commons amidst the greatest Corruption of the Court and Ministry. The People could not be lull'd asleep with fair Speeches when they saw Popery breaking in upon them

them like a Torrent, and who were the Men that encourag'd it? Were they not the very same who usurp'd the Title of *True Churchmen*, and were always railing against *Fanatics*? The whole Bench of Bishops had in their Spiritual Courts Vigorous Prosecutions against Dissenters, when Popery triumph'd every where, and was the surest Step to Favour and Fortune. What sort of Churchmen and Bishops these were, we may see by a Speech made in the House of Commons in the Debate about *Tangier*.

I remember, said a worthy Member, before the last Session of Parliament there was a Council held at Lambeth, and there hatch'd a Bill against Popery. It was for the breeding of Children of a Popish Successor, which admitted the Thing, and it was call'd a Bill against Popery, but we call'd it the Popish Bill. I am for the Church of England, but not for the Churchmen of the late Bishop of St. Asaph, who on his Death-bed could hardly forbear declaring himself, which his Epitaph did, *Ora pro Anima*, order'd to be written upon his Tomb.

Was not the Church then in a flourishing Condition? These were the Times when *Fanaticism* was expos'd to the Rage of Cruel and Mercenary Bigots, when Moderation was a Jest, and Liberty little better than Rebellion. Other Histories inform us who were at the Head of Affairs. *Whigs*, they could not be; for the same Member, a *Whig* himself, would not have said, *His Majesty is inclos'd by a sort of Monsters who endeavour to destroy, and I hope*

to move against 'em before we rise, and tho'
we have lost our last Bill, we have not lost our
Courage and Heart.

Another spoke thus, I'll never be for gi-
ving of Money to promote Popery, and a Suc-
cessor, a publick Enemy to the Kingdom, and a
Slave to the Pope. While he has Eleven to
Seven in the Council, and Sixty four to Thirty
one in the House of Lords, we are not secure.
If my own Father had been one of the Sixty
four, I should have voted him an Enemy to
the King and Kingdom, and if we cannot live
Protestants, I hope we shall dye so.

Another Speech made the same Day has
something in it very extraordinary; an *Ar-
canum* that cannot but give a Value to our
Anecdotes. I am of Opinion that Popery may
be aim'd at by keeping Tangier, and our Coun-
cils are manag'd at Rome, from whence I saw
a Letter from a Friend dated the 21st of
October, with the Heads of the King's Speech
in it to this Effect, 'That his Majesty would
command them not to meddle with the
Succession: That he would ask no Money:
That he would stand upon the Confirma-
tion of the Lord Danby's Pardon; and
that the keeping of Tangier was to draw
on Expences.

Whether we sent as far as Rome for Coun-
cils or not, I shall not enquire; but if
Credit may be given to an Answer to the
Declaration that was publish'd after the
hasty Dissolution of the last Parliament at
Westminster in that Reign, and that which
met after it at Oxford, the French had no
small Share in our Councils but were let
fur-

further into the Secret than was consistent with the Honour and Interest of *England*. There was not from the Restoration to the Revolution a Ministry against the Union of all *English* Protestants, but they were Friends to *France*; for as that Union would infallibly ruin the Interest of Popery, and Spiritual Liberty, establish Temporal, *France* always usurping upon her Neighbours, and pursuing the vain Chace of Universal Empire, did her utmost to engage Friends in *England* to prevent the Uniting of the Protestants, who having secur'd their own Liberty, would certainly not have been tame Spectators of the Destruction of that of their Neighbours.

As the Declaration above mention'd was order'd to be read by all Vicars, Curats, &c. who, no doubt, were extreamly well pleas'd with the Employment, so it can be no Secret that it was a cruel Invective against those bold *English* Parliaments, wherein the *Russells*, the *Capels*, the *Booths*, the *St. Johns*, the *Foleys*, the *Harleys*, the *Winningtons*, the *Jones's*, distinguish'd themselves in the Defence of our Religion and Liberties. An Answer to it was publish'd, call'd, *A just and modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the two last Parliaments of King Charles II.* Wherein we find several Hints of the Influence of French Councils, as these which follow :

‘ Tho' to the Dishonour of our Country, says the Author, it appears that some *Englishmen* were concern'd in the unhappy Advice of breaking the two last Parliaments,

Part III. of EUROPE.

77

‘ ments, and setting up this pretended Defence of it; yet the *Gallicisms* which are found in that Paper, shew the Writer to have been of another Nation, or at least to have had his Thoughts so much taken up with the Interest of *France*, (while he was labouring this way to heighten and perpetuate the Differences between the King and the People) that he could not express himself in any other Idiom than theirs. He would not otherwise have introduc’d the King, saying, *That it was a Matter extreamly sensible to us, a Form of Speech peculiar to the French, and unknown to any other Nation.* The Reader (who understands that Language) will observe so many more of this kind, as will give him just Cause to doubt whether the whole Paper was not a Translation, and whether the *English* one, or that which was publish’d in *French* was the Original. Let us then no longer wonder that the time of dissolving of our Parliaments is known at *Paris* sooner than at *London*, since ‘tis probable the Reasons now given for it were found there too. The Peers at *Oxford* were so totally ignorant of this Council, that they never once thought of a Dis- solution, till they heard it pronounc’d; but the Dutches of *Mazarine* had better Intelligence, and publish’d the News at *St. James’s* many Hours before it was done. The Declaration was not communicated to the Privy Council till *Friday* the 8th of *April*, (when his Majesty according to his Method) did Graciously declare to them

them his Pleasure to set it forth, without desiring from them any Advice in the Matter ; but Monsieur *Barillon*, the French Ambassador, did not only read it to a Gentleman the 5th of *April*, but advis'd with him about it, and demanded his Opinion of it, which his Excellency will the better remember, because of the great Liberty which the Person took in rediculing it to his Fate. Good God ! to what Condition is this Kingdom reduc'd when the Ministers and Agents of the only Prince in the World who can have Designs against it, or whom we ought to be afraid of, are not only made acquainted with the most secret Passages of State, but are made our chief Ministers too, and have the principal Conduct of our Affairs. And let the World judge if the Commons had not Reason to Vote when they declar'd those Eminent Persons who mang'd things at this rate, *To be Enemies to the King and Kingdom, and Promoters of the French Interest.*

There will never happen a Time when we shall be safe from all *French Attempts* against us, when those who are in the *French Interest*, will not be *Enemies to England*, to both Prince and People. There was then no *Rupture with France*. When that Vote pass'd, Monsieur *Barillon* the French Ambassador, was, according to this Author, a sort of *Privy Counsellor* ; Yet what does it declare those to be who were in the *Interest of the French King* ? There was no *War with him* when the Lord *Danby* caus'd his

Chri-

Christianissimus Christianandus to be published; yet we find those Votes and that Book were very acceptable to the good People of *England*, and I must confess that tho' I shall never contribute to the Infraction of any Treaty with any Prince whatsoever, I shall always have an Abhorrence for a *French* Interest so contrary to that of *England*.

None of these daring Steps in Favour of Popery could put a stop to the Generous Endeavour of the most Noble *Englishmen* to prevent the Growth of it, which encreas'd, as did the Hopes of the *Papists* on the rejecting of the Exclusion Bill. The Duke of *York* was known to be at the Head of all the dangerous Councils that the Parliament and People complain'd of: And on the 26th of June 1680. there was a Presentment against him deliver'd to the Grand Jury of *Middlesex*, with Reasons for Indicting him for not coming to Church, two of which are,

That his Majesty in his Speech of March 6. the 31st Year of his Reign, does give for a Reason to the Parliament why he sent his Brother out of England, because he would leave no Man room to say, that he had not remov'd all Cause which might Influence him to Popish Councils.

That there have been divers Letters read in both Houses of Parliament, and at the Secret Committees of both Houses, from several Cardinals and others at Rome, and also from other Popish Bishops and Agents of the Pope in other Foreign Parts, which do apparently shew the great Correspondence between the Duke of York and the Pope: And how the Pope could not

not chuse but weep for Joy at the reading of some of the Duke's Letters, and what great Satisfaction it was to the Pope to hear the Duke advanc'd to the Catholick Religion. That the Pope has granted Breve's to the Duke, sent him Beads, ample Indulgencies, &c. These Reasons were sign'd by

Earl of Huntington,	Sir Gilb. Gerrard, Bar.
Earl of Shaftesbury,	Sir Edw. Hungerford,
Lord Grey of Werk,	Knt. of the Bath.
Lord Russel,	Sir Scroop How,
Lord Cavendish,	Sir Henry Calverly,
Lord Brandon,	Thomas Thyn, Esq;
Thomas Wharton, Esq;	Wm. Forrester, Esq;
Sir Wm. Cooper, Bar.	John Trenchard, Esq;

The Court of King's Bench hearing of this Presentment, sent for the Jury up and dismiss'd them, by whose Dismissal a great number of Indictments were discharg'd, an Act of Arbitrary Power scarcely to be parallel'd; but we may have a good Idea of the Honesty of the then Judges, by a Charge of Sir Richard Weston, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, at Kingston Assizes. In which he inveigh'd much against Farel, Luther, Calvin and Zwinglius, condemning them as Authors of the Reformation, saying, Zwinglius set up his Fanaticisms, and Calvin built upon the blessed Foundation; and to speak Truth, all his Disciples are season'd with such a sharpness of Spirit, that it much concerns Magistrates to keep a strait Hand over them, and now they are Restless, amusing us with Fear,

Fears, and nothing will serve 'em but a Parliament.

Of what Party this good Baron was, I need not acquaint the Reader, 'twill be seen by his Principles, and what Friends they are to Parliaments, appears by what he says further. *For my part, I know no Representative of the Nation but the King, all Power centers in Him.* 'Tis true, He does intrust it with his Ministers, but he is the sole Representative, and e'faith he has Wisdom enough to intrust it no more with those Men who have given us such late Examples of their Wisdom and Faithfulness.

Ah! what happy Days will it be when we have again such Judges on the Bench, which we certainly shall have when there are such Ministers to promote them. The Character of the Judges, and the Ministry that made them, are fully set forth in a Speech in the House of Commons, which met after the Dissolution of the former, and the several Prorogations of this before mention'd on the 21st of October.

The two great Pillars of the Government, said one of the Members, are Parliaments and Juries. It is this gives us the Title of Freeborn Englishmen; for my Notion of Freeborn Englishmen is this, that they are Rul'd by Laws of their own making, and try'd by Men of the same Condition with themselves. The two great and undoubted Privileges of the People have been lately invaded by the Judges that now sit at Westminster. They have espous'd Proclamations against Law, they have disown'd and oppos'd several Legal Acts that

tended to the sitting of this Honourable House, they have grasp'd the Legislative Power into their own Hands, as in that Instance of Priming; the Parliament was considering that Matter, but they in the Interim made their private Opinion to be Law, to supersede the Judgment of this House. They have discharg'd Juries on purpose to quell their Presentments, and shelter great Criminals from Justice, and when Juries have presented their Petitions for the sitting of this Parliament, they have in disdain thrown them at their Feet, telling 'em, They would be no Messengers to carry such Petitions, and yet in a few Days after would have encourag'd all that would spit their Venom at the Government. They have serv'd an Ignorant and Arbitrary Faction, and been the Messengers of Abhorrences to the King, &c. The House of Commons having order'd a Committee to enquire of all such Persons as have offended against the Right of the Subject to petition for the sitting of Parliaments, they were call'd to Account for it. We shall see presently what Set of Men they were who are said to serve an Arbitrary and Ignorant Faction. They expell'd Sir Francis Withens as a Betrayer of the Undoubted Rights of the Subjects of England. They did the same by Sir Robert Cam of Bristol.

They Voted an Address to his Majesty to remove Sir George Jefferies, Recorder of London, out of all Publick Offices: They order'd the Serjeant at Arms to take Thomas Herbert Esq; into Custody for prosecuting John Arnold Esq; at the Council Table for promoting

promoting a Petition; and the 5th of January, 1680. they impeach'd Sir *Francis North*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *Wm. Scrogs*, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir *Richard Weston*, for advising and drawing up Proclamations against petitioning, and for dismissing the *Middlesex* Jury, as is before-mention'd. They also impeach'd *Edward Seymour* Esq; for several High Crimes and Misdemeanours, that Gentleman having not long continu'd in the Country Interest, nor distinguish'd himself by any Thing in the House of Commons which look'd that way, except in carrying on an Impeachment against the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, when that Minister was become sensible of his Mistakes in Politicks, and willing to make Amends for 'em by his future Conduct. The King coming to the House of Lords the 15th of December 1680. made a Speech to the Parliament, in which he promis'd them, as he takes Notice he had done before, to concur with them in any Remedies for securing the protestant Religion, which might consist with preserving the Succession in its due and legal Course of Descent. The Commons in a long Answer to this Speech on the 18th of December, when Mr. *Seymour* was impeach'd, told him, That no Interruption of that Descent had been endeavour'd by them, except only the Descent upon the Person of the Duke of *York*, who by the wicked Instruments of the Church of *Rome*, had been manifestly perverted to their Religion; that his Succession is utterly

inconsistent with the Safety of the Protestant Religion, and the Prosperity, Peace and Welfare of his Protestant Subjects. On the 4th of January the King sent them another Message, wherein he tells them he is sorry to see their Thoughts so wholly fix'd on the Bill of Exclusion, that he is confirm'd in his Opinion against that Bill. This inflam'd the House in an extraordinary Degree, and they ran into severe Votes and Resolutions against *George Earl of Halifax, Henry Marquis of Worcester, Henry Earl of Clarendon, Lawrence Hyde, Esq; Lewis Earl of Faversham, &c.* for which and other displeasing Votes they were dissolv'd 4 or 5 Days afterwards, and another Parliament was call'd to sit at *Oxford*, which consisting mostly of the same Members, and falling into the same Measures, sat but eight Days, and was sent packing like the three former Parliaments, with the Declaration concerning the two last, that has been already treated of.

As I have taken Notice of the Fury of the *Popish* Faction and their Abettors, with respect to Dissenters, so it will not be amiss to observe the Methods they us'd to render them Odious to the People as well as to the King. For this end they employ'd Sir *Roger L'Estrange* to abuse them and all Men of Charity, Lovers of their Country, in Weekly and other Libels; they got him to be made a Justice of Peace, to give him Authority to prosecute as well as to vilify Protestant Dissenters; a Man of more Wit than the *Examiner*, our Contemporary Li-

beller

beller, and of the same Size for Honesty and Modesty, their Designs were the same, and I hope the same will be the Success of them. 'Tis of him and his Faction the Lord L—— made a Memorable Speech in the House of Peers in the last Westminster Parliament, of which I shall incert one Paragraph as a Reproof and Warning to such as follow L'Estrange's Example.

I would not, says his Lordship, have so much as a Popish Man nor a Popish Woman to remain here, nor so much as a Popish Dog nor a Popish Bitch, nor so much as a Popish Cat, that should Pur or Mew about the King. We are in a Labyrinth of Evils, and must carefully endeavour to get out of them, and the greatest Danger of all among us are our conniving Protestants, who notwithstanding the many Evidences of the Plot, have been industrious to revile the King's Witnesses, and such a one is Roger L'Estrange, who now disappears being one of the greatest Villains upon the Earth, a Rogue beyond my Skill to delineate, who has been the Bugbear of the Protestant Religion, and traduc'd the King and Kingdom's Evidences by his Notorious Scribbling Writings, and has endeavour'd, as much as in him lay, to eclipse the Glory of the English Nation. He is a dangerous rank Papist, prov'd by good and substantial Evidence, for which since he has walked under another Disguise, he deserves of all Men to be hang'd, and I believe I shall live to see that be his Fate.

How exactly this agrees with the Desert of the *Examiner*, and the Hopes of all good Englishmen? My Lord concludes, *He has*

scandaliz'd several of the Nobility, and detracted from the Rights of his Majesty's Great Council, the Parliament. He is now fled from Justice, by which he confesses the Charge against him, and that shew him to be Guilty. Yet the Ministry thought his Pen so serviceable to 'em by advancing their Merit on the Ruin of the most Worthy, by reproaching every thing that was good, and extolling its Contraries, by confounding Truth and Falshood, Virtue and Vice, by rediculing the best Men and praising the worst, that he was continu'd Tyrant of the Press, in the Commission of the Peace, and made a Knight.

Such Tools will be always encourag'd by ill Ministers, and be frown'd on and corrected by good Ones. This Wretch was so far encourag'd by the Men then in Power, that he had Licence given him to break open Houses and Closets to search for Papers, as Sir Thomas Dolman's and others; and that practice of searching had like to have been as fatal to others, as it was to Collonel Sidney, as appears by the following Story. Sir William Jones, who had distinguiish'd himself by his Zeal for the Exclusion Bill, and was as great a Patriot as he was a Lawyer, dying, a certain Courtier offer'd his Servant a great Sum of Money to let him search his Master's Study to find a Paper which would discoyer mighty Matters. Another Person discoursing with a Privy Counsellor about it, the latter said, It was not true, for, continu'd he, if we had a Mind to have done it, could we not have sent a Messenger under Pretence of searching for Treasor-

nable Papers, to bring the Study to Whitehall, and have kept what we would of them.

The King having parted with his Oxford Parliament, held no more to his Death, and the three last Years of this Reign are a Blemish to the English History. The *Par-*
pists were encourag'd and grew Rairpant, the mock Protestants, by the Name of *Tories*, join'd with them to destroy the Religion they profess'd, and the Liberties of their Country. They began with the *Non-*
conformists, and then fell upon the Moderate *Churchmen*. I would not be thought to favour the *Dissenters* from the Establish'd Church farther than Charity obliges us, and the Interest of the Protestant Religion, which is best supported by *Union* among Protestants, and therefore when I speak of the *Persecution* of the *Fanatics*, as they were call'd by way of Reproach, tho I abhor *Persecution* in Religion, I do it to expose the *In-*
vasions that were made on the Liberties of the Subject, and the Endeavours of their *Per-*
secutors to erect an *Arbitrary Government*, which is their Principle, and their Practice will be found conformable to it. The fil-
ling the *Goals of England* with the most Pious and Peaceful of their Protestant Neighbours ; their forcing them to fly to the Wildernesses of *America* ; their plun-
dering their Houses and their Barns did not long content them. As soon as they had secur'd the *Formality* of Law on their Side, the best Blood in the Kingdom was spilt by them, and it is owing to the good Pro-
vidence of God, that there was not a De-

luge of it. Had the Papers left by *Dangerfield* in Coll. *Mansel's Lodgings* been discover'd, as was design'd, the whole Body of *Whigs* had been charg'd with a Plot, and the greatest Men in *England* fal'n a Sacrifice to the *Popish* prevailing Faction; tho' Coll. *Mansel*, who was a Friend of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, had prov'd his Innocence, and the Treasonable Papers found in his Lodgings were known to have been laid there without his knowledge, yet this did not discourage the Enemies to our Liberty and its Defenders: They employ'd one *Fitz-harris* to get another Treasonable Paper written in the Name of the *Non-conformists*, and to pretend they were carrying on a Plot; *Fitzharris* had access to his Majesty, whom he told he was in pursuit of a Conspiracy against his Person and Government; and the King being, as has been said, much given at that time to Jealousies of those Men, his Majesty so far countenanc'd *Fitz-harris* as to give him Money. He was with the King Three Months before his Hellish Treason was discover'd, and was afterwards examin'd at the Council Table, about the Paper found upon him, intended to have been laid on the *Dissenters* and *Whigs*, as were those that were left in Coll. *Mansel's Lodgings*. The Parliament of *Oxford* being inform'd of this Damnable Conspiracy, resolv'd to examine it to the bottom; and for fear he shou'd be hang'd out of the way, as was *Hubert*, who confess'd himself guilty of the Fire of *London*, the next Morning after the Parliament had resolv'd to examine

examine him, they exhibited a General Impeachment in the House of Lords against *Fitzharris*, to have the hearing of that Matter themselves. But the Lords made an Order, that *Fitzharris* might be try'd by the Court of King's Bench. The Parliament was dissolv'd, Sir *Francis Pemberton* made Lord Chief Justice to do this Exploit, and the Traitor's Mouth stop'd soon after with a Halter. *Fitzharris* hir'd one *Everard* to write his Libels for him, which were to be printed and sent abroad by the Penny-Post, to the chief Protestant Lords and Gentlemen, and the Persons seiz'd with them in their Pockets, or their Houses to be search'd for them.

Fitzharris was not the only Man concern'd in this Contrivance, and to find out who was behind the Curtain, was the Occasion of the Impeachment. He was an *Irish* Man and a *Papist*, which recommended him to the Trust of the inveterate Enemies of the *Whigs*. His Majesty examin'd him in Council; but as he told Mr *Cornish*, cou'd make nothing of his *Discoveries*; Sir *William Waller* said, that when he acquainted the King with the apprehending of *Fitzharris*, his Majesty said, he had done him the greatest Piece of Service that ever he had done him in his Life. But he was no sooner gone, but Two Gentlemen told him the King said, he had broken all his *Measures*, and he wou'd have him taken off one way or other. *Fitzharris* never pretended the King gave him Money to write that or any other *Libel*, and it is probable the Money he had of his Majesty was

was for some *Trifling Business*, as the Lord *Conway* affirm'd, or as Mrs. *Wall*, the Dutchess of *Portsmouth's* Woman, who marry'd Sir *Theophilus Oglethorp*, swore, for bringing in the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick*, whose Evidence was so fatal in the Lord *Russel's* Case. This Woman depos'd he had 250*l.* for that Service. Tho' no body cou'd imagine the King was in the Secret of this Business, yet it was not doubted but Persons very near him of the highest Rank, knew more of it than they could justify, and the Death of this Man, contrary to the Common's Impeachment, did rather encrease People's Suspicions than lessen them. Is it not a wonder, that after the Detection of two such Villainous Designs to draw the *Whigs* into Plots, any one shou'd believe the third, which murder'd the greatest Patriots in *Britain*, as the Lord *Russel*, Coll. *Sidney*, &c. Who were the Men, and of what Party, that took on them the Blood of those Brave *English-men* is too well known to have a Place here; probably I may remember the Names of some of them before I have done with this Subject, that their Posterity may share in their Infamy, too mild a Punishment for such *Betrayers* of their *Country*. These were the Men that abandon'd the Charters of *England* to the Pleasure of the Court, and gave up all the People's Rights and Priviledges in the fury of their Loyalty. It will be of use to all succeeding Times, to know what Principles such Men were acted by, and that will be found in the Addresses of *Abhorrence, Hereditary Right*

Right, &c. presented to King *Charles* and King *James*: And if their Practices were such as will excuse our being impos'd upon again by their Pretences to Zeal for the Church and Crown, let History do 'em the Justice to record them. The first Man they persecuted to Death was *Stephen Colledge*, whom they endeavour'd to represent as a Person deeply concern'd in a Plot against his Majesty and his Government; and to make the greater Noise, when he was taken he was sent Prisoner to the *Tower*, tho' of so mean a Trade as a *Joyner*. A Bill was exhibited against him in *London*, but the Jury rejected it with an *Ignoramus*, for which the Foreman, *Mr. Wilmer*, was forc'd to fly his Country, and return'd not to it till he came with the Prince of *Orange*, our *Deliverer*. If it is objected, that *Colledge's Tryal* is no part of *Secret History*, let me ask the Objector, if he knows that the King's Council with *Irish* Witnesses posted to *Oxford* to prevail with the Grand Jury to find the Bill, and that the former practis'd upon them; insomuch, that the Bill being found, one of the King's Council boasted at Court of his Service and Cunning Management of the Matter. The same was done in *Fitz-harris's Cafe*, the King's Council cajoling the Grand Jury for some Hours in private, and 'tis pity the World shou'd not be told who were in Office at that time. The Tryal commenc'd the 16th Day of *August*, 1681.

Present.

PRESENT.

The Lord *Norreys*,
 Lord Chief Justice *North*,
 Mr. Justice *Jones*,
 Mr. Justice *Raymond*,
 Mr. Justice *Levins*,
 Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Attorney General,
 _____ Sollicitor General,
 Sir *George Jefferies*, Ser-
 jeant at Law, King's Council.
 Mr. *North*. J

J U R Y.

<i>Henry Standard</i> ,	<i>Roger Browne</i> ,
<i>William Big</i> ,	<i>Timothy Doyly</i> ,
<i>Robert Bird</i> ,	<i>Ralph Wallis</i> ,
<i>John Shorter</i> ,	<i>John Benson</i> ,
<i>William Windlow</i> ,	<i>John Piercy</i> ,
<i>Charles Hobbs</i> .	<i>John Lawrence</i> .

It is remarkable, that one of the Men return'd on the Pannel was so foolish as to declare frankly he won'd hang *Colledge Right or Wrong*; which was so very scandalous, that the Sheriff struck him out of the List.

Three of the King's Council were sent to *Oxford* when *Colledge's Tryal* came on, which was thought very extraordinary, and seem'd to corroborate what that Poor Man said at his Tryal, *That there was a Conspiracy against his Life, and that it would not stop there*. If there was no Conspiracy, Why were the Papers he had prepar'd for his Defence feiz'd immediately before his Tryal? Why had the King's Council Time given them to peruse

peruse them on the Tryal? Why were not the Prisoner's Witnesses credited as well as those that swore against him, whose Evidences were entirely disprov'd? Why was he so ill us'd before and at his Tryal? Why did the Chief Justice *North* insinuate he was a Papist? And why was not the Evidence fairly summ'd up? All which Objections to the Justice of his Tryal are as clear as *the Sun at Noon Day*, which was falsely said of the Guilt of this unfortunate Man: And, in short, Why else did the Parliament of *England* declare his Death to be *Murder*? Let us look back then and enquire into the Character of these Judges and Jury-men. Let us see what Party they pretended to be of, and let us have a Care not to give the least Encouragement hereafter to Men of such Principles. *Colledge*, 'tis true, had been a Busy Man, and perhaps the over warmth of his Zeal might have made him guilty of some Follies: But if Folly was Death, what a Havock had it made of the *Abhorors of Liberty*. *Colledge* was so officious, as to accompany some Members of Parliament to *Oxford*, and it appear'd on his Tryal, that the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *John Brooks*, Sir *John Henly*, and Mr. *Stern* had been in as much Danger as *Colledge*, had not the latter made so excellent a Defence. *It was not their Innocence*, says one of the greatest Lawyers of our Times, *protected the Lord Fairfax, Sir John Brooks, &c.* but *Colledge's baffling that Crew of Witnesses, and so plainly detecting their Falshood, that the King's Council never durst play them*

at

at any other Person except the Earl of Shaftesbury, on which occasion they receiv'd such terrible Mortifications. And it was this made the Party resolve, at all Ventures, to get such Sheriffs, that they might not be put to so much Drudgery, to take off a Man as they were in Colledge's Case, nor to so much Shame in a Disappointment, as in that Earl's *Ignoramus*. It was for this Reason, that the *Quo Warranto* was brought against the City of London, that the Citizens might forfeit their Right of Election of Sheriffs, which, to their Honour, they always chose out of the most worthy of their Members; but when Elections were made by Violence, then follow'd the Times which the Ingenious Author of the *History of Standing Armies* describes thus:

‘ No Man could be employ'd in Church or State, till he had declar'd himself an open Enemy to our Constitution, by asserting Despotick Power under that Nonsensical Phrase of *Passive Obedience*, which was more preach'd up than all the Laws of God and Man. The Hellish Popish Plot was stifled, prov'd since too true by fatal Experience, and in the room of it Protestant Ones were forg'd, and Men trapann'd into others, as the *Meal-Tub*, *Fitzharris*, the *Rye-House*, *Newmarket* and *Black-Heath* Plots, and by these Pretences and the help of pack'd Juries and Judges, they butcher'd some of the best Men in England, set immoderate Fines upon others, gave probable Suspicion of cutting the Lord *Essex*'s Throat; and to finish our

De-

Destruction, they took away the Charters as fast as they were able, of all the Corporations in *England* that would not chuse the Members prescribed them.

That these Murders were intended by the Violences us'd in getting Sheriffs impos'd upon the City, the Scene where they were to be perpetrated, may be seen by *L' Estrange's* frank Confession in one of his Papers. If it should please God, says that Hireling Libeller, to send us seasonable Sheriffs, and fair Play for our Money, there are set on foot so many Titles in Competition for the Gallows, that it would be a hard matter to settle their Claims, and say, who should go first. Now what sort of Men, in his Opinion, would make these seasonable Sheriffs, you will find in his *Observator*, May 27, 1684. where, speaking of the poor Distress'd Whigs, he says, *Prithee wilt thou set their Cornish and Bethel, their Pilkington and Shute against our North and Rich, our Daniel and Dashwood?* Power was now usurp'd by the *Ignorant* and *Arbitrary* Faction before-mention'd, and he flatters those Citizens, of whom in his *Apology* he said, *That a Citizen's Skull is but a Thing fit to try the Temper of a Soldiers Sword upon.* What Faction was it for whom he wrote? Cou'd this Hellish Insinuation divert an *English* Reader? Shall such Wretches be ever again Countenanc'd? Forbid it Heaven! to the Confusion of the *Examiner* and all his Brethren, who have been so industrious to divide us, and inflame her Majesty's Loyal Subjects one against another. Before I take

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any Notice of the Murders of my Lord *Russel*, Collonel *Sidney*, and Mr. *Cornish*, I must remember, that the very Irish Evi-
dences had been tamper'd with to throw
Popish Plots upon the Protestants, which
is prov'd by a Petition of *Edward Turberville*,
John Macknamarra, *William Lewis*, and *Her-
bert Burk*, presented to the Lord Mayor,
Court of Aldermen and Common Council,
which sets forth, That after all the Discov-
eries of a damnable Hellish Papish Plot, the Pa-
pists were restless in their Endeavours not only
to strife and discredit the Belief of it, by tam-
pering and labouring to corrupt the most con-
siderable Witnesses, and hiring and suborning
most infamous Persons to defame and impeach
the Testimony of others, but also to impute the
Plot unto, and devolve it upon Innocent Pro-
testants; and that the Papists had so far
wrought upon some, that for a present Supply
they had Shipwrack'd their Consciences. Yet
such was the Fury of the Faction, such the
Stupidity of the People, that notwithstanding
these Detections, these Confessions,
these Proofs, the *Fanatick Plot* was impos'd
upon them, and the Inferior Clergy in the
Country, and elsewhere, preach'd upon no-
thing else, till they found themselves in as
much Danger as the *Fanaticks*, and both
Clergy and Laity were forc'd to plot effe-
ctually to get out of it.

The Histories of *England* speak of the
Tryal of the Lord *Russel*, of that of Collonel
Sidney, and Alderman *Cornish*'s; they speak
also of the Reversing their Attainders, and
their Deaths being declar'd Murders; but
they

they don't tell us what Illegal Methods were taken to murder them ; and the Remains of the Faction that murder'd them are so far from thinking them Illegalities, that they declare their readiness to act the same Bloody Part as soon as the Times will permit it, which will not be, I hope, in our Days, nor in the Days of our Posterity. In taking Notice of these Infamous Tryals, I shall be so just to the Persons concern'd in them as not to omit their Names.

At the Lord Ruffel's Tryal.

P R E S E N T.

The Lord Justice *Saunders*,Lord Chief Baron *Mountague*,Mr. Justice *Windham*,Mr. Justice *Jones*,Mr. Justice *Charlton*,Mr. Justice *Levins*,Mr. Justice *Wishens*,Mr. Baron *Street*.Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Attorney General,Mr. *Finch*, Solicitor General,Sir *George Jefferies*, King's Serjeant,Mr. *North*, King's Council,Sir *Dudley North*, } Sheriffs.Sir *Peter Rich*,

J U R Y.

John *Martin*, Fore-man, no Freeholder,William *Rouse*,Gervas *Seaton*,William *Fashion*,Thomas *Short*,George *Torriano*,William *Butler*,James *Pickering*,Thomas *Teve*,Hugh *Noden*,Robert *Brough*,Thomas *Oneby*.

Let them never be forgotten, and wherever the Reader finds either themselves or their Abettors, Candidates for Places of Trust, he will know what use to make of his Memory, when he has heard that these were the Judges, Prosecutors, and Jurors on whom lies the Blood of this truly Noble Lord, who was Arraign'd for High Treason, and try'd the same Morning, who was try'd by a Jury not Freeholders, and condemn'd, tho' the Evidence against him was so Insufficient. *Rumsey* contradicted himself, *Shepherd* swore nothing Criminal, and Lord *Howard* of *Escrick's* Evidence could certainly be of no Weight, when the Earl of *Anglesey* swore he heard that Lord tell the Earl of *Bedford*, His Son could not be in such a Plot or suspected of it, and that he knew nothing against the Lord *Russel*, or any Body else, of such a Barbarous Design and Act. Mr *Howard* swore, the Ld. *Howard* took it upon his Honour and Faith he knew nothing of any Person concern'd in that Business, and not only thought my Lord *Russel* unjustly suffer'd, but he took God and Man to witness, he thought him the worthiest Man in the World. Notwithstanding all which, and the Evidences of the Duke of *Somerset*, the late Duke of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Clifford*, Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Burnet*, Dr. *Fitzwilliams*, Mr. *Levison Gower*, Mr. *Spencer*, and others, this excellent Person was found Guilty, and Sacrifi'd to the Rage of an Implacable Faction. His true Crime being probably his moving the Exclusion Bill, and carrying it to the House of Lords. The very same

Day

Day that the Lord *Russel* was try'd, the Murder of the Earl of *Essex* in the Tower was made Publick. I am as little apt to give into Visions as another, and therefore shall not insist on the Truth of his being kill'd by any one but himself, contenting my self with what Sir *John Hayles* has said on this Occasion, as the Reason why the Judge would not put off my Lord *Russel's* Tryal.

My Lord of *Essex*, says he, was kill'd, or was kill'd that Morning, as to this Matter it is not Material whether by his own or another's Hand. They were sensible the Evidence against my Lord *Russel* was very defective, and that Accident was to help it out, but that would not avail, unless it were a surprizing Matter, upon the Fury, and should the Fury have had a Days, or but a Mornings Time to consider of it, People might have been talking with them, they might have been told a great many Circumstances of the Improbability of the killing himself. They might have observ'd that the King's Council was so far sensible that it was no Evidence against my Lord *Russel*, that they never attempted to prove the Earl of *Essex* murder'd or kill'd himself; it was only slyly insinuated, together with the Reason of it, which had its effect, if the Report be true of some of the Jurymen, saying, It went farther with them than all the Evidences of the Witnesses.

The Truth is, I make no manner of doubt, but such Jurymen needed neither Evidence nor Circumstances, but like Colonel *Sidney's* Grand Jury, would have

brought in their Verdict at first Sight, as the other found the Bill. However, such an Event was necessary, to make the Death of this Noble Lord go down the more easilie, and 'twas much more to satisfy the World than for the Satisfaction of the Jury, of which one cannot question they were sure, having such *seasonable* *Sheriffs* as *North* and *Rich.*

The Lord *Russel* being Beheaded, his Speech was publish'd the same Day. 'Tis said One hundred thousand of 'em were sold in the first Run of it; it is certain nothing in Print had been so eagerly accepted or sought after. It has been so often printed, I shall not enlarge further upon it here. This shew'd the Inclination of the People, and there was some Respite for quieting their Minds; but as *Colledge* said, *It did not to stop there*, and therefore on the 17th of November 1683. was *Colonel Sidney*, Brother to the Earls of *Leicester* and *Rutland*, brought to his Tryal. The Indictment at the Time he came to *Westminster-Hall* was so far from being found by the Grand-Jury, that it was not so much as presented to 'em, but, says an Eminent Lawyer, *The King's Council*, who had pack'd the Jury, knew well enough that it would be accepted, that it was found upon Sight of the Jury, without any Consideration, which was accordingly done, and *Colonel Sidney* thereupon arraign'd.

At Collonel Sidney's Tryal.

P R E S E N T.

Sir George Jeffries, Lord Chief Justice,
Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney General,
Mr. Finch, Sollicitor General,
Mr. Dolben, King's Council,
Sir Peter Daniel, ² Sheriffs,
Sir Sam: Dashwood, ³

J U R Y.

John Anger,	Joshua Clerk,
Richard White,	George Glishy,
William Linn,	Nicholde Baxter,
Lawrence Wood,	William Reeves,
Adam Andrews,	William Grove,
Emery Argusso,	John Burr.

His Tryal came on the 21st; the Court refus'd him a Copy of the Indictment. West the first Evidence, said, Of his Knowledge he could not say any Thing of the Prisoner. The Lord Howard now lets the Earl of Salisbury into the Plot, and varies from his Evidence at the Lord Russel's Tryal. He swore, that the meeting at Mr. Hampden's was ten Days after that at my Lord Russel's, whereas He had then sworn it was about three Weeks after. Mr Sidney had such a just Indignation against the Lord Howard, for doing the Drudgery of Swearing, as that Lord term'd it himself, that he would not take the least Notice of him, abhorring to see a Gentleman concern'd in so Villainous a Business, contrary to all the Rules of Truth,

Justice and Honour, being ask'd whether he would ask the Witness any Questions, he reply'd Coldly, *I have no Questions to ask him.* Upon which the Attorney General, with great Ingenuity and Wit, said, *Silence — You know the Proverb.* A happy Turn in the Case of Blood, and the Blood of as Brave a Man as ever England bred, whose Learning and good Sense were equal to his Bravery. 'Tis thought the Verse he wrote in a Book, kept for that purpose at the Court of Sweden, *Manus luc Inimica Tyrannis,* would have condemn'd him as justly as the Answer he wrote to Sir Robert Filmer's Insolent and Absurd Treatise of Government, and maliciously dispers'd it all over his Closet, as the Honourable Mr Wm. Wharton express'd it in a merry State Ballad. 'Twas in this Tryal, that the King's Council asserted *Scribere et Agere,* and upon this fine Maxim of Law he was, as Sir John Hawes tells us, talk'd to Death under the Notion of a Commonwealths-Man. Tho' the Papers seiz'd by Sir Philip Lloyd were prov'd to be the Colonel's Hand Writing, by the Oaths of Mr. Carey and Sir The. Cook, his Goldsmiths, yet they having never been made publick, could not, by Law, have touch'd his Life. This Gentleman, the same excellent Lawyer says, was the first that ever lost his Life for writing any Thing without publishing it, which was not so much as pretended. The Earl of Anglesey gave the same Evidence against the Lord Howard's, as he had done

done in the Lord Rassel's Tryal. ¹⁵ The Earl of Clare said, the Lord Howard after Colonel Sidney's Imprisonment, declar'd, If he was question'd again he would never plead, the quickest dispatch was the best, he was sure they would have his Life; and speaking of Archbishop Usher's Prophesy, he said, The Prosecution was begun, and he believ'd it would be very sharp, but hop'd it would be short; adding, He thought Colonel Sidney as Innocent as any Man Breathing, giving him great Encouragement, and bewailing his Misfortune. As for the Colonel's Papers, he said, he was sure they could make nothing of 'em. Mr. Philip Howard swore, the Lord Howard said, it was a Sham Plot. Mr. Ducas gave Evidence that the Lord Howard said, He knew nothing of Colonel Sidney's being in any Plot. The same Evidence was given by the Lord Pager. These were all Men of great Honour; the Lord Howard's Character branded with Infamy, yet on his and the Hearsay Evidence of two or three other Infamous Witnesses, was this great and good Man condemn'd to dye the Death of a Traitor. The learned Lawyer before mention'd has some Remarks on this Tryal, which will, I doubt not, give great Satisfaction to the Reader. As this Indictment was an Original in the Particular of the finding it, so it was a second of an Inuendo Indictment of Treason. Fitzharris was the first, &c. But admitting Colonel Sidney wrote that Book and publish'd it; yet if it were not done with a design to stir the Subjects up into a Rebellion, but was writ and publish'd

Disputandi. Gratia, as the Purpose of the Book shewes plainly, it was not Traision. And suppose it was written with that Design; yet it not appearing when it was writ, how could the Jury, upon their Oath, say it was done with Design to raise Rebellion against King Charles II. when for ought appearing, it was writ before he was King or thought of; almost all the Circumstances of the Tryals are Originals; the summing up of the Evidence against him was Barbarous, being Injustices and in Consequences. It was said he was not only Guilty of the Practices he was accused of, but it could not have been otherwise, because his Principles led him to it, and it might well be good Reason have been urg'd that he was not only become, but was born a Traitor.

I cannot present the Reader with an Instance of the Thirst of these Men after Blood, which will make a stronger Impression upon them. This Gentleman was born of one of the most Illustrious Families in England; and his Merit was still more Illustrious than his Birth, yet with what Rage do they persecute him? He in vain complain'd of the Injustice he had done him during the whole Course of the Tryal, and appeal'd to God and the World, he not being there heard. After which the Infamous Jefferies having pronounc'd Sentence of Death on him, he cry'd out, *Then oh God! Oh God! I beseech thee sanctify these Sufferings unto me, and impute not my Blood to the Country nor the City thru which I am to be drawn.* Let not Inquisition be made for it; but if any, and the shade

ling of Blood that is Innocent must be reveng'd, let the weight fall only upon those that maliciously persecute me for Righteousness sake. The wicked Judge reply'd, I pray God for thee for another World, for these are not fit for this. Upon which the Brave and Innocent Gentleman held out his Hand, *Feel my Pulse*, says he, and see if I am disorder'd, I beseech God I never was in better Temper than I am now. Is there an Englishman can read this Story with dry Eyes and a cold Heart? Yet, yes, there are such as call themselves Englishmen who vindicate this Murder in the most enormous manner, by asserting the Principles of those Persecutors, whom Colonel Sidney summon'd to that dreadful Tribunal in the World to come, where, e'er this, they have all of them had their terrible and eternal Reward.

The Colonel drew up a Petition to the King, setting forth, with great Reason, and a Boldness becoming the Injustice he had met with, the Violence of the Chief Justice, and the Jury's being hurried into a Verdict they did not understand, desiring to be admitted to his Majesty's Presence; concluding, that if he did not show it was for his Majesty's Honour and Interest to preserve him from this sad Oppression, he would not complain, tho' he were left to be destroyed.

The Clemency of the Government after the Revolution, in not making Jefferies an Example of severe Justice, gave more Offence than any thing, and some People have

have thence taken Occasion to think, that the Law cou'd not have touch'd him, which hang'd *Thesilian* and others, his Predecessors. But the Judgment of God follow'd that Wretch and his Family, of whom there are even now hardly any Remembrance. Can one believe, that the Citizens of *London* cou'd have suffer'd to have their Chief Magistrates insulted by him, as were the Mayor and Aldermen of *Bristol*, whom he threaten'd to Hang or to Whip? Do you think, says he at the Tryal between Mr. *Papillon* and Sir *William Pritchard*, the Government will ever suffer its self to be snivell'd at, and over-thrown by a Company of such whining Fellows? No, I tell you *Killany* was the Foundation of it, and *Kraucy* the Superstructure, and it is high Time it should be pull'd down. Then calling *Alderman Cornish* and *Sheriff Berbol*, *Rascals*, this Man, late a starving *Welch Pettifogger*, and a Pleader in *White Chappel Court*, said, The City was in great Happiness and Quiet, till such time as a couple of busy Fellows came to get into the Publick Offices; and let the whole Party go away with that in their Teeth, and chew upon it, if they will.

What Mr. *Cornish* was to expect from Judges of *Jeffries's Stamp*, one may imagine by this Sketch of his Character, and 'twas that worthy Citizen's hard Hap to be Indicted of High Treason at the *Old Bailey* on Monday the 19th of October 1685.

At

At Mr. Cawis's Tryal.

P R E S E N T.

Lord Chief Justice *Fines*, &c.,
Attorney General, *Roger North*, Esq;
Solicitor General, *Oliver Morange*, Esq;
Mr. Phipps, King's Council,
Sir Benjamin Twyford, Sheriffs.

Sir Thomas Kersay,

Thomas Rawlinson, *William Gloucest*,
Thomas Langham, *Richard Holford*,
Ambrose Iford, *William Longboat*,
Thomas Pendleton, *Stephen Colman*,
John Grice, *Robert Clavet*,
Thomas Oneby, *William Long*,

He had not had Notice of his Tryal till 12 a Clock Saturday, and he cou'd get no body to come to him till 8 a Clock, nor without a Gaoler present, nor was he allow'd Pen, Ink and Paper; and having a material Witness 40 Miles off, he desir'd Time, but it was refus'd him. He then pray'd for a Copy of the Pannel, but the Attorney General said, he had not deser'd so well of the Government as to have his Tryal delay'd. The same Day were try'd Mrs. *Gaunt* and one *Fernly*, for harbouring a Rascal that betray'd them. At *Fernly's* Tryal there happen'd some Discourse, which shews the Justice and Humanity of the Men then in Power: One Mr. *Rush* was call'd to testify as to *Fernly's* Conversation, who

ap-

appearing, an Officer presently inform'd the Court, he was a great Whig; Nay, says Judge *Withens*, if he be a Whig he cannot be a little One. Mr. *Aust* said, Mr. *Fernly* always demean'd himself well among his Neighbours, and was a good Sober Man. Judge *Withens* again reply'd in *Russell*, A *Wapping* Man, is *Sober Wapping* Man. Another Witness being call'd as to the Prisoner's Reputation, he was ask'd, if he went to Church: The Man answer'd, Yes constantly? Yes, says this upright Judge, there were a parcel of 'em that went constantly to Church trimm'd. This was almost Treason with these Enemies to Moderation, these great Pretenders to Zeal for our Church, who were then, and ever will be, a Disgrace to any Religion, especially that which is the purest and most Reform'd of any in the Christian World. This good Sober Man *Fernly* was condemn'd to be hang'd, and Mrs. *Gaunt* to be burnt, for concealing one of *Montmouch*'s Men out of Charity, and perhaps through Ignorance of the Crime. *Rumsey* was the chief Evidence against Mr. *Cornish*. He swore in the Lord *Russell*'s Tryal, he had nam'd all the Persons at the Meeting he had spoken of; and had never till now nam'd Mr. *Cornish*, being tax'd with it in this Tryal, he excus'd his Perjury with Compassion to the Prisoner, which, says Sir *John Hawles*, was foolish, mean, and contradictory; he perjur'd himself to save the Prisoner, and then swore to Hang him! Besides, in the Lord *Russell*'s Tryal, *Rumsey* swore he was not at the Reading the Declaration,

and

and contradicted *Sheppard*, who swor'd he was there. Sir John describes in another Place of his Remarks, the hard Usage this Gentleman met with in all the Circumstances of his Tryal: How often was he snub'd, and bid hold his Tongue? How often did he try the Patience of the Court to hear him and his Witnesses? And when he was heard, how was all he said ridicul'd: If he said he was Innocent, he was told, my Lord Russel said so to his Death. Good God! Cou'd there have been a Time when the Memory of a murder'd Patriot was thus insulted by the most corrupt Court, to confound another Patriot whom they were about to murder by the Forms of Law? Let us again and again look over the List of those Wretches, and all that were concern'd in this Horror: Let us enquire how they were denominated, what Mark they were known by, and learn to avoid them as we wou'd Destruction. Sir John Hawes proceeds, when he said he was as Innocent as any Person in the Court, he was told, for all his Confidence few believ'd him: If he said the Matter sworn against him was Improbable, which has been taken for a pretty good Topick for the Disbelief of a Matter testify'd, how is it ridicul'd by Improbability, Improbability, Improbability? If he says he employ'd Good-nigh above the Riot, he is told, That is a Branch of the Plot: If he calls Mr. Gosfright as a Witness for him, the Witness is reproach'd with having help'd the Prisoner in packing Juries: If he call one to prove he receiv'd the Sacrament, he is told, That was in order to qualify

qualify himself for being a Sheriff; and in his Usage before and at the Tryal, such was it afterwards. To order him to be try'd when he was Sentenc'd, was an Indignity not meete to Persons of his Quality: Of like kind was the Reproaching him with the Chearfulness of his Countenance at his Condemnation, and that it may be all of a Strain, his Quarters were all expos'd, &c. Again, No account can be given for the Proceeding against Mr. Cornish in the above manner, but that some of the Judges, whereof Three of them were then on the Bench, had been newly come out of the West, where they had been so flush'd and harden'd, that nothing seem'd to them Rigorous or Cruel, and the rest seem'd to vie with them in the Practice. I shall Close this Melancholly Subject with the List of some of the Jury-men in other Tryals, wherein the Rights and Liberties of English-men were invaded. The Names of the Men are of themselves a Lesson, and I shall therefore forbear a Comment on them.

O A T E S's Jury.

Sir Wm. Dodson,	Robert Bedinfield,
Sir Edm. Wiseman,	Thomas Rawlinson,
Richard Alie,	Roger Reeves,
Thomas Foulis,	Ambrose Ifted,
Thomas Blackmore,	Henry Collier,
Peter Pickering,	Richard Howard,

'Tis observable, the Chief Justice Jeffries speaking of the Popish Plot, for which the Lord Stafford was beheaded, condemn'd by the Votes of his Peers, 55 to 31, and of the

the Evidence, by which that Lord and other Conspirators suffer'd, cry'd out, Good God of Heaven ! What an Age have we liv'd in, to see Innocence suffer Punishment, and Impudent Falsehood reign so long, &c. &c. &c. &c.

Another of O A T E S's Juries.

Sir Thomas Vernon,	George Torriano,
Nich. Charlton, Esq;	Henry Loader,
Tho. Langham, Esq;	John Midgley,
Thomas Hartop,	John Pelling,
Francis Griffith,	Thomas Shart
John Kent,	George Peck,

Whatever was Oates's Character otherwise, either as to his Ignorance or want of Learning, Manners, or Temper; he had prov'd the Plot to the Satisfaction of the King and Parliament. 'Twas not Oates's but the Popish Plot that these Men aim'd at, and let the Man be what he will, the unparallel'd Usage he met with, and his Resolution under it, are stronger Arguments for his Innocence, than any of those that made Judge *Withens* wish he cou'd have hang'd him, expressing his great dislike at so mild a Sentence. Oates after he had been most inhumanly rail'd at and bully'd by the Attorney and Sollicitor General, and by the wicked Bench of Judges, before whom he stood with great Firmness of Mind, protested the Truth of his Evidence, and that he was resolv'd to stand by and Seal it with his Blood; which Jefferies told him, It was Pity but he shou'd. These Jurors heard all this, and their Honesty and Upright-

righteous will appear, if we consult the Journals of the Lords House, on the Debate for the Reversing this horrid Judgment, which, tho' that Honourable House did not think fit to do, yet it was not carry'd without Opposition, and several Lords enter'd their Protest as follows.

*On the Vote for affirming the Judgment against
Titus Oates.*

Die Subi 25. Maii, 1689.

‘ We Dissent for these Reasons,

I. ‘ For that the King’s Bench being a Temporal Court, made it part of the Judgment, that *Titus Oates* being Clerk, shou’d for his said Perjuries be divested of his Canonical and Priestly Habit, and to continue divested all his Life; which is a Matter wholly out of their Power, belonging to the Ecclesiastical Courts only.

II. ‘ For that the said Judgments are barbarously Inhumane and Unchristian, and there is no President to Warrant the Punishments of Whipping, and committing to Prison for Life, for the Crime of Perjury, which yet were but one Part of the Punishments inflicted upon him.

III. ‘ For that the Principal Matters upon which these Indictments were founded, were the Points objected against Mr *Titus Oates* his Testimony in several of the Tryals, in which he was allow’d to be a good and credible Witness, tho’ testify’d against him by most of the same Persons who

‘ who witnessed against him upon these two Indictments.

IV. ‘ For that this will be an Encouragement and Allowance for giving the like Barbarous, Cruel, and Illegal Judgments hereafter, unless this be revers'd.

V. ‘ Because Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Henry Pollexfen*, the Two Chief Justices, and Sir *Robert Atkins*, Chief Baron, with six Judges more, being all that were then Present, for these and many other Reasons did before us solemnly deliver their Opinion, and unanimously declare, *That the said Judgments were contrary to Law and Ancient Practice, and therefore Erroneous, and ought to be revers'd.*

VI. ‘ Because it is contrary to the Declaration of the 12th of February last, which was ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons then assembled, and by their Declaration engrossed in Parliament, and enrolled among the Records in Parliament, and recorded in Chancery, it does appear, *That excessive Bails ought not to be requir'd, nor excessive Fines impos'd, nor Cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted.*

Bolton,
Macclesfield,
Bridgwater,
Bolingbrooke,
Herbert,
Vanghan,
Stamford.

Grey,
Cornwallis,
Oxford,
Bath,
Eure,
Proharton.

Thus we see a great many Noble Lords, and the Opinion of all the Judges against a Judgment so Bloody and Illegal, that it takes off all our Pity for whatever Miseries afterwards befel the Government that suffer'd it to be inflicted. I shall not trouble the Reader with further Reflections on the Male Practices in the latter Part of King *Charles* the Second's Reign, and have said so much that we may know what Instruments were made use of, and under what Denomination they went, that we may be upon our Guard how we ever again trust Men of such Principles, which tend to the Destruction of every thing that is Dear to English-men and Protestants. I have already mention'd a Scruple, I suppose, many will have as well as I, in believing the *Papists* conspir'd the Death of King *Charles*, when he himself was a Papist, which however is not believ'd by every bndy. To convince whom, I shall in the next Place give some Account of that Matter, and of his Death, as I find it attested by Authority.

On Monday the 2d of February, the King rose early, saying, *He had not slept well the last Night*: And about Seven a Clock coming from his Private Devotions out of his Closet fell down, scarce any Sign of Life remaining in him for the space of four Hours, of a Fit of an Apoplexy; but with the loss of sixteen Ounces of Blood, and other Applications, he came again to his Senses, and there were great Hopes of his Recovery till Thursday One a Clock: At Five a Clock his Physitians attended the Council,

Council, and declar'd, *The King was in great Danger.* The next Day, a quarter before Twelve, he expir'd, and the Catholicks publish'd the following Account of his Behaviour during his Illness: *P. M. A. C. F.*
' came to the Duke, upon the Doctors telling him of the State of the King, and told him, *Now was the time for him to take Care of his Brother's Soul, and that it was his Duty to tell him so.* The Duke with this Admonishment went to the King, and after some Private Discourse the King utter'd these Expressions, *Oh, Brother, how long have I wish'd but now help me;* withal declaring, *he wou'd have Mr. Hudlestone who had preserv'd him in the Oak, and now he hop'd wou'd preserve his Soul.* Mr. Hudlestone was accordingly sent for, and, to use the Words of my Popish Author, was desir'd to bring all Necessaries for a dying Man; but he not having the Blessed Sacrament by him, went to one of the Queen's Priests, and telling him the Occasion desir'd his assistance to procure it, and to bring it to the Back Stairs. The King having notice that Mr. Hudlestone waited at the Door, desir'd to be in Private, upon which the Bishops and all the Lords withdrew, the Duke catching fast the Door, told the Lords *P. B. F.* who were going out also, *That they might stay.* The King seeing Mr. Hudlestone, cry'd out, *Almighty God, what good Planet governs me, that all my Life is Wonders and Miracles? When, O Lord, I consider my Infancy, my Exile, my escape at*

‘ Worcester, my Preservation in the Trn,
‘ with the assistance of this good Father; and
‘ now to have him again to preserve my Soul.
‘ Oh Lord! my wonderful Restoration, my
‘ great Danger in the late Conspiracy, and
‘ last of all, to be rais’d from Death to Life,
‘ and to have my Soul preserv’d by the assist-
‘ ance of this Father, whom I see, Oh good
‘ Lord, that thou hast created for my Good.
‘ The Duke and Lords withdrew into the
‘ Closet for the space of an Hour and half,
‘ and then enter’d again the Room. Father
‘ Hudlestone ask’d the King, Whether he
‘ wou’d be pleas’d to receive: He answer’d,
‘ If I were worthy of it. Amen, Amen. The
‘ Father remaining comforting and praying
‘ with him, he said, Father, if I am worthy
‘ of it pray let me have it. Father Hud-
‘ stone reply’d, It wou’d be brought to him
‘ immediately, and ask’d his leave to pro-
‘ ceed to Extream Unction. The King an-
‘ swer’d, With all my Heart, the Duke and
‘ Lords assisting at the time. Then Mr
‘ Hudlestone was call’d to the Door, where
‘ he receiv’d the Blessed Sacrament, and
‘ desiring the King to compose himself to
‘ receive, he wou’d fain have sat up, saying
‘ Let me meet my Heavenly Father in a better
‘ Manner than lying on my Back. But being
‘ perswaded to the contrary, they all con-
‘ tinu’d in Prayer: Among others the Fa-
‘ ther repeated an Act of Contrition, de-
‘ siring the King to repeat it Word by
‘ Word after him; having made an end
‘ the King received with the greatest Ex-
‘ pressions of Devotion imaginable. This
‘ being

being ended, they go on with the Prayers
de Anima, and that over, the King desi-
red the Act of Contrition to be again re-
peated, saying, *O Lord, good God, when my*
Lips fail, let my Heart speak these Words
Eternally, Amen. The Bishops and Lords
re-entering the Room, desir'd the King to
remember his last End, and to endeavour
to make a good One: He reply'd, *He had*
thought of it, and hop'd he had made his
Peace with God. They ask'd him whether
he wou'd receive; he said, *He would not,*
and continually extoll'd the Queen and
Duke, saying, *He was not sorry to leave*
the World, leaving so good a Brother to
Rule behind him. His Praises of his Bro-
ther, and his mentioning the *late Conspira-*
cy, are doubtless Additions to the Circum-
stances of his Catholick End. The King
knew them both best of any Man, and that
he had as little Reason to condemn the
one as to extol the other. I take this
Account to be true in the main, it being
strengthned by the Authority of King James
himself, who soon after his Brother's Death
publish'd these

Two Papers written by the late King Charles
II. of Blessed Memory.

The First Paper.

THE Discourse we had the other Day,
I hope satisfied you in the main, That
Christ can have but one Church here upon
Earth; and I believe that it is as visible,
as that the Scripture is in Print, That

none can be that Church, but that which is call'd the *Roman-Catholick Church*. I think you need not trouble your self with entring into that Ocean of particular Disputes, when the main, and in truth, the only Question is, Where that Church is, which we profess to believe in the two *Creeds*? We declare there to believe one Catholick, and Apostolick Church, and it is not left to every Phantaſtical Man's head to believe as he pleases, but to the Church, to whom Christ left the Power upon Earth to govern us in Matters of Faith, who made these *Creeds* for our Directions. It were a very Irrational thing to make Laws for a Country, and leave it to the Inhabitants to be the Interpreters and Judges of those Laws: For then every Man will be his own Judge, and by consequence no such thing as either Right or Wrong. Can we therefore suppose that God Almighty would leave us at those Uncertainties, as to give us a Rule to go by, and leave every Man to be his own Judge? I do ask any ingenuous Man, whether it be not the same thing to follow our own Phancy, or to interpret the Scripture by it? I would have any Man shew me, where the Power of deciding Matters of Faith is given to every particular Man. Christ left his Power to his Church *even to forgive Sins in Heaven*, and left his Spirit with them, which they exercised after his Resurrection: First by his Apostles in their *Creeds*, and many Years after by the Council at *Nice*, where

that

that *Creed* was made that is called by that Name, and by the Power which they had received from Christ, they were the Judges even of the Scripture it self, many Years after the Apostles, which Books were Canonical and which were not. And if they had this Power then, I desire to know how they came to lose it, and by what Authority Men separate themselves from that Church? The only Pretence I ever heard of, was, because the Church has failed in wresting and interpreting the Scripture contrary to the true Sense and meaning of it, and that they have imposed Articles of Faith upon us, which are not to be warranted by God's Word. I do desire to know who is to be Judge of that, whether the whole Church, the Succession whereof has continued to this Day without Interruption, or particular Men, who have raised Schisms for their own Advantage.

This is a true Copy of a Paper I found in the late King my Brother's Strong-Box, written in his own Hand.

JAMES R.

The Second Paper.

IT is a sad thing to consider, what a World of *Heresies* are crept into this Nation; every Man thinks himself as competent a Judge of the Scriptures, as the very Apostles themselves; and 'tis no Wonder that it should be so, since that

part of the Nation which looks most like
 a Church, dares not bring the true Argu-
 ments against the other Sects, for fear
 they should be turn'd against themselves,
 and confuted by their own Arguments.
 The Chnrch of *England* (as it is calpd)
 would fain have it thought They are the
 Judges in Matters Spiritual, and yet dare
 not say positively there is no Appeal from
 Them; for either they must say, that
 They are Infallible (which they cannot
 pretend to) or confess, That what they
 decide in Matters of Conscience, is no far-
 ther to be followed than it agrees with
 every Man's private Judgment. If Christ
 did leave a Church here upon Earth, and
 we were all once of that Church, how,
 and by what Authority, did we separate
 from that Church? If the Power of In-
 terpreting of Scripture be in every Man's
 Brain, what need have We of a Church,
 or Church-men? To what purpose then
 did our Saviour, after he had given his
 Apostles power to bind or loose in Hea-
 ven or Earth, add to it, *That He would be*
with Them even to the End of the World?
 These Words were not spoken Paraboli-
 cally or by way of Figure; Christ was
 then ascending into his Glory, and left his
 Power with his Church to the End of the
 World. We have had for these Hundred
 Years past, the sad Effects of denying to
 the Church that Power in Matters Spi-
 ritual, without an Appeal. What Coun-
 try can subsist in peace or quiet, where
 there is not a Supream Judge, from whence

ther

there can be no Appeal? Can there be any Justice done where the Offenders are their own Judges, and equal Interpreters of the Law with those who are appointed to administer Justice? This is our Case here in *England* in Matters Spiritual, for the *Protestants* are not of the Church of *England*, as 'tis the true Church from whence there can be no Appeal, but because the Discipline of that Church is conformable at that present to their Fan- cies, which as soon as it shall contradict or vary from, They are ready to embrace or joyn with the next Congregation of People, whose Discipline or Worship agrees with their own Opinion at that time; so that according to this Doctrine there is no Church, nor Interpreter of Scripture, but that which lies in every Man's giddy Brain. I desire to know therefore of every serious Considerer of these things, whether the great Work of our Salvation, ought to depend upon such a sandy Foundation as this? Did Christ ever say to the Civil Magistrates (much less to the People, *That He would be with Them to the End of the World?* Or did he give them the Power to forgive Sins? St. Paul tells the *Corinthians*, *Ye are Gods Husbandry, ye are Gods Building?* We are Labourers with God. This shews who are the Labourers, and who are the Husbandry and Building; and in this whole Chapter, and in the preceding one, St. Paul takes great pains to set forth, that They (the Clergy) have the Spirit of God,

with

without which no Man searches the deep
 things of God: And he concludes the Chapter
 with this Verse, For who hath known
 the mind of the Lord, that he might instrue
 him? But we have the Mind of Christ. Now
 if We but consider in human Probability
 and Reason, the Powers Christ leaves to
 his Church in the Gospel, and St. Paul
 explains so distinctly afterwards, We
 cannot think that our Saviour said all these
 things to no purpose; and pray consider
 on the other side, that those who Resist
 the Truth, and will not submit to his
 Church, draw their Arguments from Im-
 plications, and far fetch'd Interpretations,
 at the same time that they deny plain and
 positive Words; which is so great a Dis-
 ingenuity, as 'tis not almost to be thought,
 that they can believe themselves. Is there
 other Foundation of the Protestant Church,
 but that if the Civil Magistrate please, he
 may call such of the Clergy as he thinks
 fit for his turn at that time, and turn the
 Church either to *Presbytery, Independency,*
 or indeed what he pleases? This was
 the way of our pretended Reformation
 here in *England*. And by the same Rule
 and Authority it may be alter'd into as
 many more Shapes and Forms as there are
 Fancies in Mens Heads.

This is a true Copy.

I have treated of *Monmouth's Rebellion*
 in the second Part, and therein mention'd a
 Summons sent by his Order to the Duke of
Marlborough, (then Lord *Churchil*) at *Chard*
 in

in *Somersetshire* to surrender himself and the Forces under his Command, since which I have met with the very Paper of the same kind that he sent to the Due of *Albemarle*, who Commanded the Militia of *Devonshire*, which being a Curious Piece, and having no Place in the History of *England*, will, doubtless, deserve one in this.

To Our Trusty and well Beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Christopher Duke of Albemarle.

My Lord,

WHEREAS We are credibly inform'd that there are some Horse and Foot with Arms under your Grace's Command for *James Duke of York*, which are purposely raised in Opposition to Us and Our Royal Authority, We thought fit to signify to you Our Resentment thereof, and do promise Our Selves, that what you have transacted therein, is thro Inadvertency and Mistake, and that your Grace will take other Measures when you have receiv'd Information of Our being proclaimed *King*, to succeed our Royal Father lately Deceas'd. We have therefore sent this Messenger on purpose to intimate the same unto you; and it is Our Royal Will and Pleasure, and We do hereby strictly Charge and Command you upon Notice and Receipt hereof, to cease all Hostility and Force of Arms against Us, and our Loving Subjects, and that your Grace will immediately repair to Our

Our Camp, where you shall not fail of a
 very kind hearty Acceptance by Us, or
 in default of the Premises, We shall be
 obliged to proclaim you, and all those in
 Arms under your Command, Rebels and
 Traytors, and shall proceed against you
 and them accordingly, yet We assure Our
 Selves your Grace will pay ready Obedi-
 ence to Our Command, wherefore We bid
 you heartily Farewell.

JAMES R.

The Duke of Albemarle's Answer.

To James Scot, late Duke of Monmouth.

I Received yours, and do not doubt but you would use me very kindly, if you had me, and since you have given your self the Trouble of an Invitation, this is to let you know, I never was, nor never will be, a Rebel to my Lawful King, who is James the Second, Brother to my late dear Master Charles the Second. If you think I am in the Wrong, and your self in the Right, whenever we meet I do not doubt but the Justice of my Cause shall so sufficiently convince you, that you had better have left this Rebellion alone, than have put the Nation to so much Trouble.

ALBEMARLE

I have lain under the severe Censure of the Examiner for rememb'ring the World of some Lords Spiritual and Temporal who were concern'd in the Ecclesiastical Commission. He is pleas'd to call this Matter of Fact Partiality, I shall therefore take hold of

of this Occasion to shew, how some of those Lords attor'd afterwards for complying with so illegal a Commission, how sensible they were of their Crime and King James's Male-Administration, and I cannot do it better than in their own Words, contain'd in a Letter from the Bishop of Rochester to the other *Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, a Paper of Advice deliver'd to King James by the Bishop of Durham, and a Letter written by the Earl of Mulgrave, now Duke of Bucks and Normanby, to the Reverend Dr. Tillotson after the Revolution and the settling the Government on that right Bottom on which it has ever since stood, and we hope will long stand, under Her Majesty and Her Protestant Successors. As to his Grace the Duke of Buckingham's Letter, I must anticipate the Reader's Pleasure by recommending to him one Passage in it, that I have made my constant Guide in all my Politicks.

I appeal, says my Lord Mulgrave, now Duke of Bucks, to the unquestionable Testimony of the Spanish Ambassador, if I did not Zealously and constantly take all Occasions to oppose the French Interest, because I knew it directly opposite both to the King and Kingdoms, which are indeed inseparable, and ought to be so accounted, as a Fundamental Maxim in all Councils and Princes. This his Lordship wrote, when there was no War declar'd against France, and this is the Maxim that I shall ever Labour to advance in the Minds of all Honest Britains, frankly confessing that what ever Denomination I may pass under for my

my Love of Liberty and our Happy Constitution, I never was and never shall be a *Whig* farther than is explain'd in the Assertion of this Noble Lord, that the *French Interest* is directly opposite to the Good of my Queen and Country, and that the Interest of my Queen and Country are inseparable. 'Tis for this, and for this only I write, and shall continue so to do as long as it is thought to be of any Service.

To the Right Honourable my Lords of His Ma-
jesty's Commission Ecclesiastical.

• **I** Most humbly intreat your Lordship's
• favourable Interpretation of what I
• now write, That since your Lordships are
• resolved to proceed against those, who
• have not complyed with the King's Com-
• mand, in reading his *Declaration*, it is
• absolutely impossible for me to serve his
• Majesty any longer in this Commission:
• I beg leave to tell your Lordships, that
• tho I my self did submit in that particu-
• lar, yet I will never be any way *Instrumen-*
• *tal* in *Punishing* those my Brethren that did
• not. For, as I call *God to Witness*, that
• what I did, was meerly in a *Principal* of
• *Conscience*, so I am fully satisfied, that
• their forbearance was upon the same *Prin-*
• *ciple*. I have no Reason to think other-
• wise of the whole Body of our Clergy,
• who upon all Occasions have signaliz'd their
• *Loyalty to the Crown*; and their Zealous
• Affections to his Present Majesty's Person,

in

Part III. of EUROPE.

127

in the worst of Times. Now, my Lords, the safety of the whole Church of *Eng-*
land seeming to be exceedingly concern'd in this Prosecution, I must declare, I cannot with a safe *Conscience* sit or Judge in this Cause upon so many *Pions* and *Ex-*
cellent Men, with whom (if it be God's Will) it rather becomes me to *Suffer*, than to be in the least occasion to their *Sufferings*. I therefore earnestly request your Lordships, to intercede with his Majesty, that I may be Graciously dismissed from any further Attendance at your Board: And to assure him, that I am still ready to Sacrifice, whatever I have to his Service, but my *Conscience* and *Religion*.

My Lords,
I am Your Lordships,
Most Faithful, and
Obedient Servant,
ROCHESTER.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The most Humble and Faithful Advice of Your Majesty's ever Dutiful Subject and Servant the Bishop of Durham.

THAT Your Majesty would be pleas'd to withdraw your Protection of those *Romish Chappels*, which are daily made the occasion of so much Disturbance and Mischief here, and if continu'd any longer, I fear, will unavoidably endanger the Peace and Safety of this Your great **City**,

' City, and consequently of Your whole
 ' Kingdom.
 ' That the Archbischoprick of York, which
 ' Your Majesty hath been pleas'd to offer
 ' me, may be fill'd with some other more
 ' deserving Person: And that Your Maj-
 ' sty would be pleas'd to make another
 ' Dean of Christ-Church in Oxford, instead
 ' of Mr. *Massey*, who is utterly uncapable
 ' there by Law: That the Fellows of Sid-
 ' ney-College in Cambridge, for whom I
 ' have so often moved your Majesty, may
 ' have leave to elect a new Master in the
 ' place of Mr. *Bassett*, (he being also un-
 ' qualified on the same Account) and to
 ' proceed in all other Affairs relating to
 ' that Society, according to their Original
 ' Statutes and Constitutions.

' That Your Majesty would be pleased
 ' to call a Free Parliament so soon as may
 ' be, this being the only probable means for
 ' preserving Your Sacred Person, for pre-
 ' venting the Effusion of Christian Blood,
 ' and for establishing Your Throne and Go-
 ' vernment both in Church and State upon
 ' sure and lasting Foundations.

N. DURHAM.

A True Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Mulgrave, to Dr. Tillotson Dean of Canterbury.

SIR,
 ' **N**OTHING in this World is, or
 ' ought to be so dear to any Man, as
 ' his Reputation; and consequently the
 ' De

Defence of it is the greatest Obligation
that one Man can lay upon on another.
There are also some Circumstances, that
render this Obligation yet more Accep-
table and Valuable, as when 'tis confer'd
Generously, without any Self-Interest, or
the least Desire or Invitation from the
Person so defended. All this happens to
be my Case at this time; and therefore I
hope you will not be surpriz'd to find I
am not the most ungrateful and insensible
Man living, which certainly I should be,
if I did not acknowledge all your Indu-
strious Concern for me, about the Busi-
ness of the *Ecclesiastical Commission*, which
now makes so much Noise in the World.
You have, as I am told, so Cordially
pleaded my Cause, that 'tis almost be-
come your own; and therefore, as un-
willing as I am to speak of my self, espe-
cially in a Busines which I cannot wholly
excuse, yet I think my self now a little
oblig'd to shew my Part in this matter;
tho Imprudent enough, yet is not alto-
gether unworthy of so Just and so consi-
derable an Advocate.

The less a Man says of himself, the bet-
ter; and 'tis so well known already, how
I was kept out of all the Secret Councils,
that I need not justify my self, or trou-
ble you as to those Matters; only I Ap-
peal to the Unquestionable Testimony of
the *Spanish Ambassador*, if I did not zea-
lously and constantly take all Occasions to
oppose the *French Interest*, because I knew
it directly Opposite both to the King and

‘ Kingdom’s Good, which are indeed things
‘ Inseparable, and ought to be accounted
‘ as a Fundamental Maxim in all Councils
‘ of Princes.

‘ This, I hope, will prepare the way a
‘ little for what I have to say concerning
‘ my being one of the Ecclesiastical Com-
missioners; of which Error I am now as
sensible, as I was at first Ignorant, being
so unhappily conversant in the midst of
a perpetual Court-flattery, as never to
have heard the least word of any Illega-
lity in that Commission, before I was
unfortunately engaged in it.

‘ For, tho’ my Lord of *Canterbury* had
very prudently refus’d to be of it, yet it
was talked at Court, it proceeded only
from his Unwillingness to act at that time,
and not from any Illegality he suspected
in the Commission, having excused him-
self from it the most respectful way, by
the InfirmitieS he lay under. Being thus
ignorant of the Laws, and in such a Sta-
tion at Court, I need not desire a Man of
your Jndgment and Candor, to consider
the hardness of my Case, when I was
commanded to serve in a Commission with
a Lord Chancellor, a Lord Chief Justice,
and two Bishops, who had all of them
already acted some time there, without
shewing the least Diffidence of their Power,
or any Hesitation in the Execution of it.
And perhaps a Man of more Discretion
than I can pretend to, might have been
easily perswaded to act in such a Conjun-
ction, and to think he might do it safely,
both

both in Law and Conscience. But I need not say much to shew my desire to have avoided, if possible, a troublesome Employment, that had not the least temptation of Honour or Profit to recommend it; and which therefore I continued in upon no account in the World, but to Serve both King and Clergy with the little Ability I had, in moderating those Councils, which I thought might grow higher, if I left my Place to be fill'd by any of those who waited for it greedily, in order to their ill Designs.

And I may expect the more Credit in this, when 'tis consider'd that the Two Important Affairs which passed in that Ecclesiastical Court, being the Bishop of *London*'s Suspension, and the Incapacitating the Members of *Magdalen Colledge*; the first was done some Months before I was a Commissioner, and I opposed the last, both in Voting and Speaking, and with all the Interest I was able to make use of, which indeed was but little after that Opposition; in which being Out-voted, I seldom came, and never acted in that Court after, except to restore the Bishop of *London*, tho' sent for continually by reason of my Lodging so near it.

And since I have been forced to mention my Good-will at least, if not my Service, to such Learned Men of the Clergy who I thought deserv'd it, it may be allow'd me to give this one Instance more of it; that altho' in Preferring Men to all other Places of the Household, I ever us'd

' to ask Permission first, and accordingly
 ' was often refus'd, for the sake of *Roman*
 ' *Catholicks* and others, who were recom-
 ' mended by Persons more in Favour than
 ' my self; yet I was so careful of keeping
 ' that Considerable part of the Family un-
 ' mix'd with Mean and Unworthy Chap-
 ' lains, whom others I fear'd wou'd have
 ' impos'd on His Majesty, that I constant-
 ' ly fill'd up those Vacancies, without gi-
 ' ving him the least Notice or Trouble a-
 ' bout it, and supply'd them with the ablest
 ' approv'd Divines, I could possibly find,
 ' most commonly recommended to me by
 ' the Bishops who were not of the Court;
 ' which I conceiv'd the most proper course,
 ' in a Matter concerning Clergymen, with
 ' a King of a different Perswasion from
 ' theirs, and intended for his real Service,
 ' believing it had been better for him, as
 ' well as the Kingdom, if the Greater Ec-
 ' clesiastical Dignities had been dispos'd of
 ' by others with as much Caution.
 ' And thus, *Sir*, I have endeavour'd to
 ' confirm you in your Favourable Opinion
 ' of me, which must be acknowledg'd by
 ' every body an Approbation of such
 ' weight, that as I hope it may be an Ex-
 ' ample of Authority to many, so 'tis suf-
 ' ficient of itself to Ballance the Censori-
 ' ousness of others. I am,

Whitehall,
Mar. 27. 1689.

S I R,

Your Obliged Humble Servant,

MULGRAVE.

As I have done Justice to these Lords in the preceding Pages, so I shall always endeavour to do it, when I find that such as have err'd are as conscious of their Errors, and as ready to make all the amends which lies in their Power, as these Lords express themselves to be: For this Reason I have been tender in certain Cases, the Noble Persons who were guilty of Errors having since acted for the Good of the Publick with distinguish'd Zeal and Success.

Nothing can give us a more lively Idea of the Folly and Madness of a certain Party in *England*, than their joyning so heartily in the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition for our Deliverance, and their being so soon weary of both Deliverance and Deliverer. They forgot all the Breaches that had been made in the Constitution by King *James*, and the real Danger our Church had been in, when the King led Father *Perris* into the Council by the Hand, and made them a Speech in Recommendation of the Jesuit; his Majesty declaring, *He wou'd have his Absolute Power obey'd without Reserve.* They forgot *Jefferies*'s new Law in the High Commission Court, *It is the King's Pleasure that you be suspended, fin'd and depriv'd:* Nay, they forgot a saying of his soon after his Abdication, *That he never expected to get into England but by Fire and Sword.* They did not consider how many Acts of Treason and Rebellion they had been guilty of at the Juncture of the Revolution; every Hand that was set to an Association in Defence of the Prince of *Orange*, wou'd have doom'd

the Writer to the Gallows, had King James kept his Power. The Archbishop of Canterbury's giving the Lord Lucas possession of the Tower, and turning out the King's Governor, was as much Treason in Law as the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion; and there was nothing but Resistance from one end of the Kingdom to the other: Yet when they had Time to reflect a little upon what they had done, and was about to do; when they consider'd that their Time of Persecution, Oppression, and Insolence, was probably over, and that all English Protestants wou'd have equal Protection under the future Government, they were sorry for what they had done, and did what they cou'd to undo it. We ought never to forget the Complyances they made to King James in the begining of his Reign, when Sir Christopher Musgrave said in the House of Commons, 'twas a deplorable thing that the King should have no better an Army than 19 or 20000 Men. How they flatter'd him with a Power above the Laws, and made daily Sacrifices to his Prerogative: How Archbishop Sancroft, so early as his Coronation, alter'd the Oath, and left out what relates to the Liberties of the People, as I have hinted already. To give the Reader a Right Notion of that Matter, 'twill not be improper to shew what the Ancient Coronation was, and how Dr. Sancroft alter'd it. The Ancient Oath is in Old French; The English is the Archbishops.

Sire,

Sire, Voiles vous
granter et garder,
& per Vestre Sere-
ment confirmer au
Poeple Dangleterre
les Leys & Les Cu-
stumes à eux gran-
tes par les Aunciens
Rois Dengleterre
vos Predecessors,
droitus & devotz à
Dieu et nomement
les Leys les Custu-
mes, & les Fran-
chisee grantez au
Clerge & au Poeple
par le glorious Roy
St. Edward, Vestre
Predecessor, &c.

Sir, Will you grant,
and keep, and by your
Oath confirm, to the
People of England, the
Laws and Customs to
them granted by the
Kings of England, your
Lawful and Religious
Predecessors, & name-
ly the Laws and Cu-
stoms, and Franchises
granted to the Clergy
by the glorious King St
Edward, your Prede-
cessor, according to the
Laws of God, the true
Preservation of the Gos-
pel establish'd in this
Kingdom, and agreeing
to the Prerogative of
the Kings thereof, and
the Ancient Customs of
this Realm, &c.

By this it is very plain, that no Care
was taken of the People's Liberties, but
great Regard had to the Rights of the
Clergy, and the Prerogative of the Crown.
How he who administer'd, and he who took
the Oath behav'd themselves afterwards,
both as to Obedience and Government, has
been seen sufficiently in this History.

The Coronation Oath which King Willi-
am and Queen Mary took is quite of another
kind, as English, as the Constitutio 1 that

K 4 made

made them King and Queen, I shall take Notice only of what relates to the State.

WILL You solemnly Promise and Swear, to Govern the People of this Kingdom of England, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the Laws and Customs of the same.

It is certain, that those of the Clergy, who have minded the Advancement of their own Interests more than those of Religion, have more than once been the occasion of great Trouble to this Kingdom. What broke off the *Savoy Conference*? What hinder'd the Union of *English Protestants* after the Revolution? What rais'd the fatal Ferment which has for these Three Years been so near breaking out into a Flame? And as the same Cause has produc'd the same Effects ever since the Restauration, so will it continue to do till our good God shall enlighten our Understanding, and bless us with a Spirit of Peace and Concord. That I am not single in my Opinion, from whence rose the Opposition which the Abdication of King *James* met with, and the Difficulties King *William* struggled with in the beginning of his Reign, I shall repeat a Passage or two out of a Treatise written in the Year 1690. call'd, *An Inquiry into the Causes of the present Disasters*. "One wou'd have thought, says the Ingenious Author, that Party and the Gentleman at *Lambeth*, their Head, had been very Cordial in bringing about this

this Revolution, since they went as far as any of their Neighbours at first in all the Steps of it: But alas! we were mistaken, these worthy Gentlemen had other Views than we know of. They concur'd in the inviting the Prince of *Orange* over into *England*, in declaring for him after he came, and in fine, in Addressing him to take upon him the Government in so difficult a Juncture. But this was all in order to make use of the Prince of *Orange's* Name, Power and Interest, to bring about the Redress of their Trifling Grievances. That Prince they were resolv'd to make but a Tool of for their little self Ends; whereof one was the utter abasing of the poor Dissenters, and laying them at their Mercy. I confess I cannot but laugh at the insupportable Folly of those unthinking Creatures, that cou'd imagine the Prince of *Orange*, who made so great a Figure in *Europe*, and whose Presence was of so great Necessity on the Continent, cou'd be impos'd upon to come over to *England* in the Heart of Winter, amidst a thousand Dangers, and at a vast Charge, and that meerly to fasten, forsooth, a tottering Pillar or two in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, or the Chappel of *Lambeth*; that Illustrious Prince was born for greater Glories than those, &c. I have mention'd in a former Part, some of their Practices in favour of King *James*, as soon as they heard he was got safe into *France*, and now I shall observe what Methods they us'd to keep him on the Throne,

from

from whence they had so freely contributed to drive him. When the Convention met, they had like to have carry'd their Point, by providing for his speedy Return, under a shew of excluding him.

They pretended to applaud and admire the Prince of Orange's Virtues, and to own the Kingdom infinitely oblig'd to him, and therefore propos'd to make him *Regent* of the Kingdom, as if they would have resign'd all Things unto his Conduct; but with the same Breath, says another Learned Author, they Treacherously insinuated a Divine Right in King James to hold the Crown, and insisted, That there could be no Lawful Authorities in the Kingdom, that were not derived from him, which was to make their propos'd Regent, King James's Officer. They set up Conscience for a State, alledging, that none could Absolve the Kingdom from their Oaths of Allegiance to King James, and sought to subvert all the Principles of the Legal English Government, by defaming and blackening for Commonwealth's-Men all that durst assert, (as our Ancestors have done in the like Cases) that King James had broken his Original Contract and Oath with the Kingdom.

How Powerful this Party was, may be seen by the Division in both Houses of Parliament. There were One hundred and fifty in the Lower House against the Question, *Whether the Throne was vacant?* and it was carry'd in the Upper House by three Voices. The Names of the Negatives were printed and publish'd as follows:

A

A LIST of the Members of both Houses of Parliament who were against the Questions for the Vacancy and Abdication.

P E E R S.

Somerset,	Dartmouth,
Exeter,	Griffin,
Clarendon,	Bishop of Bristol,
Bishop of Winchester,	Pembroke,
Archbishop of York,	Ormond,
Bishop of Lincoln,	Beaufort,
Aylsbury,	Brooke,
Bishop of Norwich,	Ferryne,
Bishop of Chichester,	Scarsdale,
Bp. of Bath and Wells,	Maynard,
Bishop of St. Davids,	Northumberland,
Bp. of Peterborough,	Arundel,
Bp. of Gloucester,	Chandois,
Nottingham,	Leigh,
Litchfield,	Delawere,
Rochester,	Grafton,
Feverham,	Abingdon,
Berkley,	Craven.
Bishop of Llandaff,	

C O M M O N E R S.

Berks.	Cornwall.
Lord Norris.	Sir Bourcher Wrey,
Bucks.	Francis Robarts,
Sir Ralph Verney.	Sir John St. Aubyn,
Cambridge.	Charles Godolphin,
Sir Levinus Bennet,	Nicholas Glyn,
Sir Robert Cotton,	John Tanner,
Sir Robert Sawyer,	Alexander Pendarvis,
	James

<i>James Praed,</i>	<i>Thomas Master,</i>
<i>John Rashleigh,</i>	<i>Sir Fr. Russel.</i>
<i>Francis Vivian,</i>	<i>Herefordshire.</i>
<i>John Specot,</i>	<i>Henry Cornwall.</i>
<i>Sir Jos. Tredenham,</i>	<i>Huntingtonshire.</i>
<i>Henry Seymour,</i>	<i>John Bigg.</i>
<i>Sir John Goriton,</i>	<i>Kent.</i>
<i>John Prideaux.</i>	<i>Sir John Banks,</i>
<i>Cumberland.</i>	<i>Sir Roger Twisden,</i>
<i>Sir Christ. Musgrave,</i>	<i>Caleb Banks.</i>
<i>Derby.</i>	<i>Lancashire.</i>
<i>John Coke.</i>	<i>Fr. Cholmondeley,</i>
	<i>Sir Edw. Chisnall.</i>
<i>Devonshire.</i>	<i>Leicestershire.</i>
<i>Sir Edw. Seymour,</i>	<i>Sir Tho. Halford,</i>
<i>Christopher Bale,</i>	<i>Tho. Babington.</i>
<i>Sir John Fowell,</i>	<i>Lincolnshire.</i>
<i>Rawlin Mallack,</i>	<i>Charles Bertie,</i>
<i>William Cary,</i>	<i>Sir John Brownlow.</i>
<i>Henry Nortleigh,</i>	<i>Middlesex.</i>
<i>Sir Archur Chichester,</i>	<i>Sir Charles Gerard,</i>
<i>Edmund Walrond,</i>	<i>Ralph Hawtrey.</i>
<i>William Hayn,</i>	<i>Monmouth.</i>
<i>William Coleman.</i>	<i>Marq. of Worcester.</i>
	<i>Norfolk.</i>
<i>Dorsetshire.</i>	<i>Sir Wm. Cook,</i>
<i>Tho. Strangways,</i>	<i>Sir Nevil Carlyn,</i>
<i>John Pole,</i>	<i>Sir John Turner,</i>
<i>Sir Robert Nappier,</i>	<i>Sir Fr. Guybon.</i>
<i>Edw. Nicholas,</i>	<i>Northamptonshire.</i>
<i>Rich. Fowns,</i>	<i>Edw. Mountague,</i>
<i>Wm. Okeden.</i>	<i>Gilbert Dolben,</i>
	<i>Sir Justinian Isham,</i>
<i>Durham.</i>	<i>Lord Wenman.</i>
<i>Wm. Lampton,</i>	<i>Northumberland.</i>
<i>Robert Byerly,</i>	<i>Wm. Forster,</i>
<i>George Morland.</i>	<i>Philip</i>
<i>Gloucestershire.</i>	
<i>Wm. Cook,</i>	

Part III. of EUROPE.

141

Philip Bickerstaff,

Sir Ralph Car,

Roger Fenwick.

Nottingham.

Lord Eland.

Oxon.

Sir Robert Jenkinson,

Sir Tho. Clarges,

Henry Berry,

Sir John Doyley.

Rutland.

Sir Tho. Mackworth.

Salop.

Edw. Kynaston,

Andrew Newport,

Sir Fr. Edwards,

Sir Edw. Acton,

George Weld.

Somerset.

Sir Richard Hart,

Sir John Knight,

Edw. Berkley,

Sir Wm. Basset,

Sir Wm. Portman,

John Sandford,

Sir Fr. War,

Francis Lutterell,

Nathan. Palmer,

Sir Edw. Wyndham,

Wm. Helyar,

John Hunt,

Thomas Sanders.

Southampton.

Francis Morley,

Sir Benj. Newland,

Sir Robert Holms,

Earl of Ranelagh,

Thomas Done,

Francis Guin,

Wm. Etrick,

John Pollen.

Staffordshire.

John Gray,

Robert Burdet,

John Cherwind,

Sir Henry Gough.

Suffolk.

Sir John Cordel,

Sir John Rows,

Sir John Barker,

Thomas Glemham,

Sir Henry Johnson,

Wm. Johnson,

Sir John Poley,

Thomas Knyvet,

Henry Pooley,

Sir Robert Davers,

Sir Thomas Harvey.

Surrey.

John Weston,

White Tichburne.

Sussex.

Sir Wm. Morley,

John Alford,

Charles Goring, Jan.

Wm. Morly.

Warwickshire.

Sir Rich. Verney,

Sir George Cave,

Lord Digby,

Wm. Colemore.

West-

Westmorland.
Rich. Lowther,
Wm. Cheyne.
Wiltshire.
Lord Cornbury,
Robert Hyde,
Richard Lewis,
Peregrine Bertie,
Henry Chivers,
Walter Grub,
Charles Fox,
Sir Edm. Wawnford,
John Dean,
Sir John Erte,
Sir George Willoughby.

Worcesterhire.
Henry Barker,
Sir John Mathews.
Yorkshire.
Earl of Derby,
Sir Jonath. Jennings,
Christopher Tancred.
Breeon.
E. Jones of Buckland,
Denby.
Sir Rich. Middleton,
Edw. Brereton.
Glamorgan.
Thomas Mansell.
Pembroke.
Sir Wm. Wogan.

Of these it must be confess'd, that several Lords and Commoners behav'd themselves like good *Englishmen*, and good Subjects to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, as the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Ormond*, the Earl of *Pembroke* and others; and that many of the House of Commons, who were for making King *William Regent* only, serv'd him very faithfully as King; but others of them who affected to distinguish themselves by their Zeal for that Church, which the King had deliver'd from the extremest Danger it was in, tho' they accepted of Employment under his Majesty, continu'd as far as they could with Safety to promote the Interests of King *James*.

I shall here mention some Passages relating to the Revolution, and the Affairs of

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England at that Time, which have come to my Knowledge since the publishing the former Part, and they being very Curious, and no where to be met with in our Language, will doubtless be acceptable to the Reader.

Among all the Wonders that attended our *Deliverance*, the Stupidity of King *James* and his Court in not seeing their Danger, and providing against it is not the least. One can hardly believe what is told us, of his being impos'd upon by *Don Pedro de Ronquillo* and *Monsieur Dyckvelt*, the latter had the greatest Hand in the Revolution of any Foreigner, and manag'd the Correspondences between *England* and the *Hague*. *Monsieur d' Abbyville*, King *James*'s Ambassador, was so amus'd and deceiv'd in *Holland*, that all the Advice he gave was either fatal or impertinent, and yet the King was so infatuated, he continu'd to employ him in so intricate and dangerous a Juncture. In one of his Letters he wrote, that amongst other *English* Lords, who had privately come to the *Hague*, was the Duke of *Grafton*, who happen'd to be behind King *James*'s Chair when the Letter was read, which set all the Company a laughing, and made the King give little Credit to what his Ambassador wrote him. 'Tis true, the Duke of *Grafton* was a good *Englishman*, and tho' probably he was not one of those Peers who invited the Prince of *Orange* over, yet he was one of those that shew'd he approv'd of his Undertaking, and would not oppose it. Some have said, that the Duke had really

really an Intelligence with his Highness, and went on Board the Fleet on purpose to observe the Lord Dartmouth, whom he intended to secure, if he found he resolv'd to fight the Dutch, or endeavour to hinder their Passage. He was one of the Lords that petition'd King James, before the Salisbury Campaign for a Free Parliament, and he told his Majesty he had sign'd the Petition, because he thought it his Majesty's Interest, and for the good of his Country. However, he would accompany him and fight any where and against any Body to serve him, and that he would lose the last Drop of his Blood in his Service, but he added, If your Majesty bring in the French, I'll be d——d if any one will serve you. The King reply'd, No Body could speak plainer than he had done. Which the Earl of Devonshire did in a Letter he wrote to the Earl of Middleton from Derby, where he had declar'd for the Prince. He told the Earl; ' He had not taken Arms out of any Hatred to the King's Person, but only for the good of his Country and for a Free Parliament, that the Prince of Orange having said in his Declaration, he was invited by several Peers of the Realm, he would not disseminate the Matter, but own to him, he was one of the first that invited over his Highness.' 'Twas to this Lord Devonshire that her Royal Highness the Princess of Denmark retir'd after she left Whitehall, attended by the Bishop of London, the Earl of Dorset, and about forty Gentlemen, with the Lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkley. When her Royal Highness arriv'd

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Part III. of E U R O P E.

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arriv'd at *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Devonshire* form'd a Troop of 200 Gentlemen to be her Guard. There are some other Circumstances of the Retreat of their Royal Highnesses the Princess and Prince of *Denmark*, which are worthy the Readers Curiosity. About six Weeks before the Princess left *Whitehall*, she had order'd a Private Stair-Case to be made, under Pretencé of a more commodious Passage to my Lady *Churchil*'s Lodgings, that she might make her Escape that Way, when her Person or Liberty was in danger. The Night before her Royal Highness withdrew, the Lord Chamberlain had Orders to apprehend the Lady *Churchil* and Mrs. *Berkley*, but the Prince desiring him to defer executing of those Orders till she had spoken to the Queen, the Lord Chamberlain did so accordingly. Not long after the News came that the Prince with the Duke of *Ormond* was gone to the Prince of *Orange*, her Royal Highness's Women entring her Chamber to acquaint her with it in the Morning, were surpriz'd to find she was not in the Bed, where they had left her the Night before. They thought at first some Misfortune had beslaln her; and the People whom she was to make happy in her most Glorious Reign, and to whom her Royal Person was dear, threatned to pull down *Whitehall*, till they heard that she was safe and gone Northward. His Highness the Prince left the King at *Andover*. As soon as his departure was known, several Parties were sent after him, with Orders to take him at any Rate. The Envoy

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voy of Denmark, who was summon'd to Council on that occasion, and was no very great Friend to the Revolution, would have had it mention'd in those Orders to take him *Dead or Alive*, telling the King, 'twas his own Fault that he was gone, for he had put no Body about him but *Traytors*, and would not let him have a *Foreigner*, or any one else of his own chusing. The King reply'd, 'Twas my Lord Churchill's Fault, who made him believe that such and such would be agreeable to him. As soon as 'twas known that my Lord Churchill was gone to the Prince of Orange, the King was advis'd to have Mr. Griffin the Prince's Secretary seiz'd, he being his Lordship's great Friend, and having an Influence over the Prince. His Majesty consenting to it, spoke of it to his Highness, who reply'd, *That the King had given him to him, and was the Master.* But Orders for seizing him being defer'd till Evening, the Prince gave Mr. Griffin Notice of it, and he made his Escape.

The Abhorrence the Duke of Grafton had express'd of the French, one would think might have been a Lesson to King James not so openly to care for and consult them as he did, Monsieur Barillon and the Count de Lauzun then in England, being admitted into all his Councils. The former would at that time have frightened the English with Representations of the Power and Bigotry of the House of Austria, it being the Policy of the French to represent that House as Impotent or Powerful, as Enemies or Friends to the Protestants, according as the present

Turn

Turn is to be serv'd by it. The *French* Ambassador, Monsieur *Barillon*, told his Acquaintance here, ' That the *English* would do well to act with Moderation, that they ought to know the Emperor was one of the most bigotted Princes in the World, and when he found they were going to destroy the Catholick Religion in *England*, he would not fail to defend it. These Discourses, and his Caballing with the Disaffected Lords, was the occasion of the Prince of *Orange*'s ordering him to depart in Twenty four Hours, tho it was debated whether he should not be Arrested by way of Reprisal for the Earl of *Essex*, who was apprehended at *Paris*. Among the Disaffected Lords none distinguish'd himself more for his Zeal to King *James*'s Interest than the Earl of *Arran*, insomuch, that when he waited on the Prince of *Orange*, after the King was arriv'd in *France*, having made his Excuses for being one of the latest that paid their Compliment to his Highness, he said freely, *If his King had not been gone to France, he should not have done it then.* The next Day the Prince told him he had dispos'd of his Regiment, and restor'd it to its old Commander the Earl of *Oxford*. The Earl of *Arran* had doubtless forgot this Affront and the loss of his Master before his unhappy Death.

In the former Part I gave a Hint of the Death of Mr. *Temple*, Sir *William Temple*'s Son, and of the occasion of it, which I have since had a full Account of. *Colonel Hamilton*, whom he recommended to King

William to carry a Letter of Summons to Tyrconnel to surrender the Government of Ireland, as he seem'd inclin'd to do, was not the first whom that Commission was offer'd to. It being propos'd to Collonel Sarsfield, he reply'd, *He was ready to do whatever his Highness should command him tho it was to serve against France, but to be employ'd to deprive his King of one of his Kingdoms, he would never do it if he could help it.* Collonel Hamilton undertaking that Commission, when he came to Ireland Tyrconnel amus'd him to gain Time, saying, he would write to King James, and give up the Government to whom he should appoint; instead of which, he apply'd himself with great diligence to get a good Army in readiness to receive that King, and make Conquest of the Kingdom for him or his Protector Lewis XIV. and easily prevail'd with Hamilton to take the Command of it under him, which struck so to Mr. Temple Heart, that he could never get over it and was doubtless the occasion of his making away with himself. The King had given him the Secretary of War's Place in the room of Mr. Blaithwait. On the 14th of April 1689, he was some time in his Office, dispatching the Affairs of it. About Noon he took Boat to go to London Bridg as if he intended to pass through to Greenwich; when he was half Way he order'd the Watermen to put Ashoar, went into House, and sent some Dispatches he had in his Pocket for Monsieur Ginkel and other Dutch Officers, who were to depart next

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Morning for Scotland, by a Porter to his Office. He then took Boat again, and bid the Watermen pass through an Arch in the middle of the Bridge, where the Fall of the Water was greatest, it being low Water. Just as he came to the Place, he stood up, and flung himself into the River, the Watermen not being able to hinder it, the Stream was so rapid it carry'd away their Boat. He had fill'd his Pockets with Stones to sink him, yet his Body rose twice. As the Watermen row'd along, he wrote this Billet with a Pencil on his Hat, and dropt it, with a Shilling to pay them, in the Boat.

THE Folly I have been guilty of in undertaking a Thing I could not go thro with, has done the King great Damage. May all his Enterprizes prosper, and may he have a Servant of more Capacity than

John Temple.

At first 'twas thought this Billet had Reference to the Office of Secretary of War, for that the Day before he had apply'd himself to the King to beg his Majesty to lay it down, because he could not discharge it with Honour. The King talk'd to him as if he had been his Son, saying, *You are a Fool, Temple; If you cannot do the Business now, you may learn it in two Months time; and your Clerks may do it till then.* Mr. Temple replying, *That Mr. Blaithwait, his Predecessor, had two good Clerks, but he would not let him have them.* His Majesty said, *He*

would make him give 'em to him. He had been observ'd for some Months to have been Pensive and Melancholly, to avoid Company, and the Gaiety he shew'd when he was oblig'd to be in it, appear'd to be fore'd. Besides, the saying he had been the occasion of great *Damage*, could not refer to Faults committed in the Secretary of War's Office, for that he had not been a Week in it: So that it must have reference only to *Hamilton's Treason*. Upon the King's first coming to *London*, Mr *Temple* had receiv'd a Letter out of *Ireland* from *Ellis* Secretary to *Tyrconnel*, assuring him, that that Lord was ready to deliver up the Sword on Honourable Terms, and to acquaint him, that if Troops and Ships were sent to compel him to do it before Proposals were made him, it would but sowl him the more, and be the occasion of a War, which might be prevented. Mr. *Temple* did not only shew the Letter to the King, but assur'd him *Ellis* was a Man of Honour, and his Word might be depended upon, which occasion'd the sending *Hamilton*, as has been already mention'd. The Affairs of *Ireland* growing worse and worse, Mr. *Temple* look'd upon himself as the Author of it. *Hamilton's Treachery* ran always in his Mind, and he could not rid himself of the Trouble it gave him a surer and quicker way, than the Method he took. The King had some jealousy of his doing it, for the Day he drown'd himself, Count *Solms* telling him he could not do what he order'd him, because he could not find Mr. *Temple*,
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the King, after a short Pause, said, *He was afraid he would never find him, for a Man had drown'd himself that Day, and it was not known who he was.* Tho' this relates in some Measure to a particular Person, yet the Nature and Occasion of his Death makes it worthy a Place in a General History, and especially in this, the true Cause of it being not one of the least Secrets of those Times.

Sir *William*, the Father of Mr. *Temple*, had the offer of being Secretary of State, a Post he was formerly very desirous of, tho' he affected an Indifference in it, but now he had been so long us'd to a Life of Solitude and Ease, that he was loath to quit it for Business and a Court. King *William* it is thought intended to have advanc'd his Son to it had he liv'd, out of Friendship to the Father; and Mr. *Temple*, who was one of the best bred Men, and a Gentleman of as great Hopes as any one of his Time, had therefore no Reason to be uneasy on account of his Fortune, which of it self was very easy, he having marry'd a *French* Lady of a good Family, *Mademoiselle du Plessis*, with whom he had 25000*l.* and an Expectancy of more.

I must not omit a brave saying of the Earl of *Macclesfield* to the Lord *Churchill*, who had disbanded his Son, the Lord *Brandon's* Regiment, soon after the Prince came to *London*. The Earl asking him the Reason, his Lordship said, *It was one of the new Levies, and besides his Son had rais'd it with a Design to serve against his Highness.* The Earl of

Macclesfield reply'd, That he had indeed pass'd for a Rebel, because King James wou'd have it so, but God be thank'd he had never been a Traitor, and if his Son had prov'd one, he himself wou'd have been his Hangman. This Spirit of Liberty did not prevail every where alike ; a Leven was still to be found, and the first Thirtieth of Janury Sermon before the House of Commons that was preach'd after the Revolution, occasion'd a Debate and Division, whether the Preacher shou'd be thank'd or not, he having pray'd for King James with as much formality as usual, tho' it seems he had little Reason to do it, that Preacher having been the first of the London Clergy whom the *Papists* persecuted. This was the more remarkable, because the Nation had in general an Abhorrence for the late Government, and Protestants of all Denominations inclin'd more to Union than ever ; insomuch, that a Bill of *Comprehension* as well as a Bill of *Toleration*, was brought into the House of Lords by the Earl of Nottingham : But the Staunch Church-men took the Allarm, *Danger* was the Word, and 'twas well the *Toleration* Act pass'd before the Noise of it had set People against it. This Cry was confirm'd by two terrible Circumstances ; King *William* had been observ'd to have put on his Hat once in Sermon Time, after the *Hugonot* Fashion, and the Queen had forbid the use of Violins in the Chappel Musick. The King in a Speech to both Lords and Commons recommended the *Comprehension Bill*, but it signify'd nothing ;

thing; what hinder'd it before hinder'd it then, and will eternally hinder it: 'Twas said it was not seasonable, and that 'twou'd create ill Blood. A Foreign Author adds upon this very Occasion, *Particulierement de ceux du Clerge, si Sujets a prendre Feu quand ils croient qu'il peut s'agir de Benefices.* It is not strange that there should be such Fears for the Security of the Protestant Succession, when from the very first mention of it there were so many ready to oppose it in Parliament. King *William* wou'd fain have had the Electoress of *Hanover* and her Heirs have been mention'd in the first Act of Settlement in the Year 1689, but it was oppos'd by Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Christopher Musgrave*, and all that Party, under pretence that some of the Popish Heirs might perhaps turn Protestants. The Lords, notwithstanding the Opposition the *Hanover* Clause had met with in the House of Commons, pass'd the Succession Bill with that Clause, and sent it back to the Commons for their Concurrence; which was refus'd, and a Conference order'd with the Lords on that Subject, and at last the Commons resolv'd not to agree to the Lords Amendment, nor to those they made in *Oates's Bill*; so they both dropt, notwithstanding his Majesty had declar'd in Council, how much he had at Heart the Interest of the House of *Hanover*; and the Queen, the Princess and Prince of *Denmark* had the same Sentiments in this Matter.

The Faction that are for the Pretender have been trying how such a Conversion wou'd

wou'd go down with us: A hundred Stories have they told us of *Leby*, and other such Priests, having been sent for by him to reconcile him to our Church. No doubt he and others of the *Popish* Pretenders, wou'd be glad enough to call themselves *Protestants*, for such a Crown as *Great Britain's*: But that Sham is too obvious to have an effect upon any body, and her Majesty having the Interests of the Illustrious House of *Hanover* so much at Heart, we may despise the Devices of all their Enemies, which I doubt not will still meet with the Confusion they have hitherto met with.

The Clemency of the Government in the beginning of King *William* and Queen *Mary's* Reign, gave such Encouragement to their Enemis, that the Faction, which a little Severity and Justice wou'd have crush'd for ever, grew upon it by degrees till it became Rampant and Unmanageable. Mr. *How* and several other Members, who, as well as he had Places at Court, propos'd an Address to the King to remove from his Council and Presence all such as had been impeach'd in Parliament, and had betray'd the Liberties of their Country. We must be so impartial as to own Mr. *Dyckvelt*, the *Dutch* Ambassador, spoke to him about it, and Mr. *How* seem'd satisfy'd with his Reasons against such an Address at that Juncture, it being aim'd against the Marquisses of *Halifax* and *Carmarthen*, especially the former, with whom the Commons were angry, for his stickling so hard against *Oates*, when the Reversing the Cruel Judgment

ment against him was in Debate: However, Mr. *How* mov'd it again, but the Courtiers wou'd not come into it, these two Lords having arton'd for past Misdemeanors by the more than ordinary Share they had in abdicating King *James*. The House dividing upon the Question concerning the Marquis of *Halifax*, there were 76 for an Address against him, and 90 against it.

The House of Commons shew'd themselves at that time so very apprehensive of every body that came near the Court, that they resolv'd upon an Address to the King, to order the poor Dutchess of *Mazarine* to depart the Kingdom. Coll. *Birch*, a Man not very famous for Gallantry, presented it, and his Majesty answer'd, *He wou'd take it into Consideration*. That Business did not pass without Opposition, several Members took the Dutchess's part; Mr. *Odyck*, one of the Dutch Ambassadors, made use of all his Interest in her behalf, and engag'd his Brother, Monsieur *d' Auverkerq*, to do the same; and these Gentlemen represented the Assemblies held at her House, which were thought to be so many *Papist* Cabals, to be only Meetings for Gaming and Diversion. The Marquis *de Seissac* spoke to the King about her, and told him, she wou'd starve in any other Country: The Bishop of *Salisbury* made a Motion in the House of Lords for such an Address as the Commons was; but it not being carry'd, the Dutchess was admitted to starve in *England*.

Since so much Pains has been taken lately, not only to cry down the Treaties that
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have been made with the *Dutch* for our mutual Preservation, but the War of *France* from the beginning to the end of it, let us enquire a little into these Affairs, and see who were the Persons that had the main Hand in both of 'em, and we shall find that Sir *Thomas Clarges* seconded Mr. *Hampden*'s Motion for an Address to King *William*, to declare the first War with *France*, and that his Majesty did not enter into it but at the Request of his People, it being carry'd for a War *Nemine Contradicente*, 350 Members in the House, one of whom made a Speech to this purpose the 15th of *April* 1689.

Mr. Speaker,

I Bear all the Respect that I owe to Crown'd Heads, but I cannot help saying, that it is of absolute Necessity to declare War with the Most Christian Turk; who ravages all Christendom, and makes War more barbarously than the Turks themselves.

And who were the Commissioners that concluded with the *Dutch* Ambassadors the first Treaties of Alliance, Friendship, and Commerce, between King *William* and the States General? Do we not find them subscribing thus?

<i>Schimmelpenninck Vander Oye,</i>	
<i>Carmarthen,</i>	<i>N. Witzen,</i>
<i>Hallifax,</i>	<i>W. de Nassau,</i>
<i>Shrewsbury,</i>	<i>Arnout Van Cittars.</i>
<i>Nottingham.</i>	<i>De Weede.</i>

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And can we suppose that these Lords wou'd have appear'd in any thing that was not for the Interest of both Church and State, as certainly every thing is that unites the English and Dutch, whose Interests are Inseparable.

I cannot forbear taking Notice of a Method practis'd by King *William* at the opening of the Session of Parliament the 19th of *October*, 1689. His Majesty having writ his Speech in *French*, carry'd it the Day before to the Privy Council, telling them it was of his own composing, and Hand Writing: He added, he knew his Predecessors us'd to order such a Discourse to be drawn up for them, but he was willing to do it himself; for that it had been usual for People to say such a one did it, and had such and such Views in what he did: That he had written it in *French*, because he did not understand *English* to Perfection, and therefore he desir'd them to alter what they thought fit, and to get it translated. The Privy Council heard it with great Applause, and only the Earl of *Monmouth* objected to that Expression, *L' Eglise Anglicane etoit le principal Apuys de la Religion Protestant*; saying, it did not sound so well in *English*, and it was alter'd to, *de laquelle l' Eglise Anglicane est un de plus grand Apuys*, That the Church of England is one of the greatest Bulwarks of the Protestant Religion. Sir *Tho. Clarges* found fault with the Expression in the House of Commons; he wou'd have had *as by Law Establish'd*, which I know some Men will always have repeated; whereas I think it is

is as well to have it understood, there being but one Church of *England*; and we shou'd not think so favourably of the *Fanatics*, as to imagine any one cou'd understand it of them.

The Difficulties King *William* met with in the beginning of his Reign, and which continu'd to the end of it, arose chiefly for want of Places to satisfy such as set too high a value on their Merits, and had not Patience to stay for Vacances. One Gentleman Mr. *H*-----, soliciting a Grant of a Piece of Ground to build upon, and the King asking him the worth of it, he to lessen it said a Thousand Pound, when indeed 'twas worth 10000*l.* His Majesty knowing more of it than he thought he did, bid him not to trouble himself, for he shou'd have 1000*l.* without it; which so disgusted him, that he ever after voted against the Court, Right or Wrong. Another wanted a Regiment of Horse, because he had been Captain of a Militia Troop. Sir *John Guise* demanded the Government of *Portsmouth*, and the King answering him he would consider of it, Sir *John* immediately turns Malecontent. Mr. *Hambden*, Jun. was offer'd the Embassy to *Spain*, which he refus'd, being Ambitious of the Secretary's Post, yet seeming not to be willing to accept any Employment: He wou'd tell his Friends, *He thought he deserve'd to have something offer'd him at least*; as if the *Spanish* Embassy had been nothing. 'Twas for want of this Compliment that Mr. *Hambden* made so many Speeches on the same side with Sir *Edw. Seymour*, whom how-

however he left when the Protestant Interest was in any wise concern'd. 'Twas for want of this that he mov'd for an Address, to inquire who were the Authors of the ill Succels of Affairs by Sea and Land ; which Motion his own Father was the first that spoke against.

Enough has been said in the preceding Parts of this History of the Secret League between King *Charles*, King *James* and the French King, since which I have had the good Fortune to light upon a Paper that came from St. *Germain*, which has been well attested to me ; but whether it is Genuine or not, further than the Circumstances that are here related, I shall not pretend to assert. If it was never agreed to by the two Kings, it was drawn up by a good Friend to both of them, and is probably a Schemē for a Treaty, if it was not a Treaty executēd in Form. There are some Chimerical Articles in it, according to some Men's Notions of the Honour of the late King *James*, and the Honour of the Most Christian King ; but as my Notion of both are not so sublime, it is not strange that I shoulde impos'd upon by the seeming Probability of this Agreement between the two Monarchs, which is the greater with me, for that the delivering up of *Portsmouth* is known to be one of the Conditions of the Succours which Mr. *Bonrepos* was order'd to insist upon when he was sent to *England* on that Errand, a little before the Revolution. What other Towns he demanded then I have not heard, 'tis likely he made his Demands large enough, and that

that they should be much larger to recover his Kingdoms than to keep them for him.

An Extract of the Articles made by the late King James with the French King in the Year 1689. in Consideration of that King's Assistance for restoring King James to his Dominions, found among the Marquis de Louvois's Papers, and communicated by a Gentleman related to the Marquis, to a Gentleman of the Court of St. Germain, who sent it to a Person of Quality in England, by whom 'twas given to the Person I had it from.

*The Articles of the Private Treaty between
the French King, and the late King James,
upon the latter's going to Ireland in the
Year 1689.*

Imprimis. ' **K**ING James in Consideration of the Assistance given and to be given him by his Most Christian Majesty, conformable to Articles made by that King on his Part for the Recovery of his Britannick Majesty's Dominions, has agreed, as soon as he shall be restor'd and fully resettled in his Kingdoms, and not before, that he may not give any Umbrage to the English Nation; to quit all manner of Claim to the Title or Arms of France, and take effectual Care to put the same out of the Royal Escutcheon of England.

' II. That he shall resign and quit the Sovereignty of the Narrow Seas to his Most

Most Christian Majesty, and to that purpose shall give Order to Ships of War, &c. to strike to the *French* Flag.

III. That he shall be obliged to assist his Most Christian Majesty with thirty Capital Ships of War, and Twenty thousand Landmen, in any War he shall be ingag'd in, and this shall be at his own proper Cost and Charge.

IV. That he shall make or enter into no Alliance against *France*, nor with any other Prince or State, without the Priority or Consent of his Most Christian Majesty, but faithfully observe a Perpetual League, Offensive and Defensive with the Crown of *France*.

V. That he shall admit into his standing Forces, whose Number and Strength shall from time to time be regulated and limited by him, in concert with his Most Christian Majesty, a constant Body of Ten Thousand *French* and Five Thousand Catholick *Switzers*, more or less, in proportion to the Troops of his own Subjects; and shall deliver up *Dover Castle*, *Plymouth* and *Portsmouth* to be garrison'd by *French* Soldiers, as Cautionary Towns for the Security of the Performance of this Treaty.

VI. That he shall permit his Most Christian Majesty at all times, and upon all occasions, the free Use of his Ports for the Retreat of his Ships, and shall supply him with able Workmen to repair or build Ships, as he shall require it.

VII. That in Regard of the Situation of the *Irish* Ports, and their Conveniency for

' the French Fleets ; as also in Consideration of the Agreement of the Irish with the People of France in Religion, he shall after his full Restauration to the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, be obliged to assign Ireland over to his Most Christian Majesty, in Compensation of all the Money he has already expended, or shall further expend in recovering the said Kingdoms of England, and Scotland : And because of the Situation of the Islands of Sicily and Sardinia in the Mediterranean Sea, for the Convenience of the English Navigation and Trade into the Levant, his Most Christian Majesty obliges himself to Conquer those Kingdoms for his Britannick Majesty at his own proper Expence, and with his own Troops, and to give them up entirely in lieu of the said Kingdom of Ireland.

VIII. ' That toward the furthering a stricter Friendship and Alliance between the Two Nations of France and England, and for perpetuating a mutual and sincere Correspondence (in case of a Violent or Natural Death of either the Prince of Orange, or Prince George of Denmark) one or both of the Princesses Royal shall become Widows, and that their Persons shall be seiz'd : That then they shall be convey'd with all Expedition and Secrecy into France, and put into the Power of his Most Christian Majesty, to be marry'd to such Prince or Princes he shall think fit.

IX. That

Part III. of EUROPE.

163

IX. ' That the Eldest or surviving Issue
of such Marriage, shall succeed to the
Crown of Scotland, to which in such Case
his Most Christian Majesty shall annex
Ireland; and England, and the American
Dominions remain to the Prince of Wales.

Additional ARTICLES.

I. ' That all Landed Men in Ireland of
the Protestant Religion, shall be oblig'd
to turn Catholicks, or sell their Estates
at a set Price to the Irish Catholicks or
others, as his Most Christian Majesty shall
appoint.

II. ' All Protestants shall have leave to
depart freely with their Effects.

Lastly, ' All such Protestants as will stay
shall have Liberty of Conscience for the
space of Twenty Years, till the Kingdom
is better peopled with French and other
Catholicks.

Let not this Treaty be thought spurious
on account of the Article of Ireland, for
this is not the only Instance we have met
with of a Design to put that Island into the
Hands of the French, to facilitate that of
establishing Popery and Arbitrary Power.
When King Charles was in Exile, he had
made the French King some Promises in fa-
vour of the Irish, and during the Lieute-
nancy of the Earl of Essex, the Irish put the
Court of France upon demanding the Per-
formance of those Promises, which the
King not being able to, do for fear of gi-
ving Umbrage to the English, the French

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were to land Forces in *Ireland*, by private Compact with the *Irish*, to oblige the Government to the Performance of those Promises : The Earl of *Tyrone*, Lord *Brittas*, and others, were to joyn them at their landing. The Intrigue was kept from King *Charles*, the Duke of *York* undertaking to qualify the King, if any Discovery should be made, as it was by some *Irish* Men, and says my Author, *The King was hardly prevail'd with not to believe it*. His Majesty thought he was on too good Terms with the *French* King, for him to undertake such a Business without his Privity ; and if the latter had by this means got an opportunity to possess himself of *Ireland*, 'tis not to be doubted the *Irish* would have found their Auxiliaries their Masters. It is observable, that this Conspiracy was on foot at the same time with the *Popish Plot*. The Lord *Brittas*, and others, made their escape to *France* ; the Earl of *Tyrone* was taken, and committed to the *Gatehouse*, and *Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, to the Castle of *Dublin*. As to *Tyrconnel's* Share in the Conspiracy to land a *French* Army in *Ireland*, it was sworn before the Parliament the 4th of *April* 1679. by *Everard*, with these Particulars ; That about the Year 1673. *Peter Talbot*, the Titular Archbishop of *Dublin*, Brother to *Tyrconnel*, coming from *England* to *Paris*, was recommended to him by *Richard Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, to be introduc'd to the *French* King, by means of the *Mareschal de Bellefonds* : That *Everard*, then Agent for the *English*

English Forces in the French Service, did carry him to the Mareschal de Bellefonds, by whom he was receiv'd very favourably, and introduc'd to the King, with whom he was in Conference near half an Hour, and the Bishop told him one of the Propositions he had to make the French King, was, a Way for him to relieve the Catholicks in their present Extremities and Persecutions, to undertake their Protection; to contrive means to arm the Irish, and secure a Sea Port Town in Ireland for the French Army to land; which Proposition he said the King was mightily pleas'd with: That he communicated it immediately to Sir Robert Welsh, then at Paris, who telling Tyrconnel of it, he was bully'd by him, and on his arrival in England shut up in the Tower, as Talbot told him he shou'd be; where the Lieutenant, Sir John Robinson, threaten'd him with the Rack, unless he would accuse the Duke of Monmouth, who then began to gain the Affections of the People. Everard discover'd this Conspiracy to Robinson, who said 'Twas a Trifle. But it agrees exactly with the Evidence of Hubert Burck, and other Irishmen; and the Persons being alive to whom he had made this Matter known, I cannot think the Fellow wou'd have the Impudence, if it had not been true, to appeal to them as he does for the Truth of it, and to prove that his Discovery was not calculated for that Juncture, in which several such Fellows made their Market by their Villanies.

PEACE, though now a Promis'd Blessing only, will doubtless be a certain One before these Sheets appear in Publick, and all the World will grant it is as good as one could wish. However, there has been in all Times a Set of People who were very uneasy in a *French War*, and always using their *Intrigues* to make us Friends with the *French*. Their Practices to hinder or delay the first War with *France*, may be seen in the second Part of this History, and I shall now look into their Behaviour in the Course of it, and the Steps they took in concert with *France* to put an end to it, to Her and King *James's* Interest, which was as *Inseparable* from the *French King's* as ours is from that of the *Dutch*. The To-
pick those Men went upon to hasten a Peace with *France* soon after that War broke out, was the Expence of *English* Blood, the loss of our Ships, and the heavy Taxes; but they forgot what Expence of Blood and Treasure they had been the occasion of in the two *Dutch Wars*, to destroy a Protestant State, and make way for the *French King to the Universal Monarchy*,

So very early as before the War was declar'd with *France*, did this *Faction* endeavour to frighten us from entring into it on account of the heavy Burthen of Taxes. A Trayterous Libel was publish'd in the beginning of the Year 1689. call'd, *A Remonstrance and Protestation of all the good Protestants of this Kingdom, against deposing their Lawful Sovereign King James II.* where-in the *Jacobite Author* tells us, ' The Charge of the Revolution will be intolerable in a while; we shall lay down a Computation of one Years Expence for an Instance.

I.	
Seventy Sail of great Ships and small Ships of War in the Channel and twelve Fireships and Tenders for one Year —	1400000
Eight Sail in the Streights and five in America for the same Time —	130000
Transporting & maintaining 15000 Men to be employ'd in Ireland for one Year, with Artillery —	500000
The Charge of sending and keeping an Army in the Low Countries of 15000 Men for a Year —	500000
For an Army of 15000 Men in England Yearly —	500000
	3030000

To this must be added the Expence of Civil Government at Home, Embassies, Intelligence, Secret Services Abroad,

M. 4. ' Do-

‘ Domestick or Family Expences, Charges
‘ upon the Revenue for Debts owing, or
‘ by Pensions to Persons Aged, Necessitous
‘ or Meritorious, which amount it to above
‘ three Millions, and that is more than one
‘ Third of the Yearly Value of the whole
‘ Kingdom. To this must be added, the A-
‘ batement that will necessarily follow, both
‘ in the Customs and Excise, by reason of
‘ War and Decay of Trade, which in the
‘ Customs alone cannot amount to less
‘ than one Third, and that comes at least
‘ to 400000*l.* a Year. *And then he goes*
sweetly on, ‘ Here is Poverty like an Armed
‘ Man, all Rents must fall at least one half,
‘ no Employments can be had in Propor-
‘ tion to the Poor, The Means of Charity
‘ as well as Hearts to give it, will be want-
‘ ing, the Objects of it must extreamly
‘ Increase, and that so very suddenly, that it
‘ will not be in our Power to hinder it. *Now*
comes the Flower of all, ‘ If we have not that
‘ PEACE, which nothing else can give us
‘ but the Restoration of our Right Master.

The very Language of the Faction now
days, after their Friends the *French* have
been forc'd by Her Majesty's Victories, to
send that pretended Master of theirs out of
their Country. One may see what rare
Scheme makers these Men are, and if the
Yearly Value of the Kingdom was but Nine
Millions, as he says, he might very easily
have swallow'd it up all, by doubling the
number of his Fleet and Army, which was
double to his Calculation, and yet neither
the Customs nor the Trade decay'd, and
after

after fifty Millions spent in the first *French* War since the Revolution, the Nation was as Rich as ever when the second War was begun, and is as Rich and much more Powerful than ever at the end of it. But there is no talking with such Calculators, who can prove that we are enrich'd or undone by a War or a Trade with *France*, as it serves their present Purpose.

It was not so with the *French*, they knew our Strength and dreaded it, and the War had not been carry'd on two Years before, even when Victory attended their Arms, but they shew'd a Disposition to Peace. Having try'd several Ways to divide the Allies, which they then found impracticable, they at last offer'd to come to reasonable Terms of Accommodation with all of them. But the first open Pace that was taken by them towards it, was in giving the Royal Authority to a Book, call'd, *Les Entretiens sur un Project de Paix. Discourses about a Project of Peace*, printed at *Paris*, which Book Madam de *Maintenon* read over Leaf by Leaf to the *French* King, and several Additions and Alterations were made in the Manuscript by his Order before it was sent to the *Press*, of which I have given Hints in the second Part of this History.

The manner of bringing this Book into the World was as extraordinary as the Matter of it. The *French* King, who has so many fine Writers of *Panegyricks* always in Pay, durst not trust one of them with this Service. He was afraid the necessity they

they would lye under by a constant Practice, to deify him in his Actions, would render the Work ineffectual, and that no Body but the French would read it. He therefore employs a *Hugonot* Pen, and the Man pitch'd upon was at first thought to be Monsieur *Bayle*, Author of the Great *Historical Critical Dictionary*, who was charg'd not only with that Treatise, but one Preparatory to it, entitul'd, *Les Avis aux Refugiez sur Leur prochaine Retour en France. Advice to the French Refugees upon their approaching Re-establishment in France.* This was intended to open a way for the Project. All the Insinuations possible are made in it, to give the World a plausible Character of the French King, and to varnish over, to use the Words of a famous Author on the like occasion, the *Cruelties of his Reign with false Colours.* All the Dirt possible is at the same time cast on the French Protestants, who fled from France to avoid the Persecution there; and the Princes and States who receiv'd them are not spar'd by the Author, who treats them as the Harbourers of *Hereticks and Rebels.*

Several Persons were guest at, as well as Mr. *Bayle*, to have been the Authors of this Book, particularly Mr. *Pelisson*, who wrote the *History of the French Academy*, and was writing the *History of the present French King* when he dy'd. Mr. *de La Bastide*, who then was at *London*, and knew Mr. *Pelisson* perfectly well, having liv'd in strict Friendship with him for above Thirty Years, was of Opinion, that it was his Friend who wrote

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wrote it : He saw, or fancy'd he saw Mr. Pelisson's Turns of Wit, his way of Reasoning, and some of his Favourite Expressions in this *Advice to the Refugees*, and was so sure of his making a Right Judgment, that he wrote a Dissertation in Defence of it. The Book was indeed printed by Monsieur Pelisson's Printer at Paris : Mr. La Bastide believ'd that Gentleman was Shy of declaring himself the Author of it, not only as he was born and bred a Protestant, and having several Relations and Friends among the Refugees, was loth to own a Book that tended to render them Odious, but chiefly because having here and there let fall Expressions somewhat too Free, and too Forcible against the way of treating the *Protestants* in France ; he had afterwards understood, that those Passages gave Distaste to some considerable Persons, which oblig'd him to expunge 'em in the Paris Edition. Others thought this Book was written by Mr. La Roque, Son to the Famous Minister of Roan, who often quoted this Book as his own Production. He was a Friend of Mr. Bayle's, which was the Reason that in the Vindications he publish'd of himself, against those who accus'd him as the Writer of it, he spoke no more freely of the Book or the Author. 'Tis certain Mr. Pelisson wrote to a Person at Rotterdam, that the French King offer'd Mr. Bayle a Reward, if he wou'd own to him he was the Author of the *Advice to the Refugees*, and even promis'd him to keep it a Secret : But Mr. Bayle disowning the Book, it is likely it was written where

where it was first publish'd, in *France*, and if so, the Project of Peace doubtless came from a Nobler Hand than the *French* gave out it did, after it was rejected with so much Disdain by the Confederates.

Having mention'd this *Avis au Refugiez*, I shall here add a short Extract of some material Passages in it, for that it was certainly publish'd with the Approbation of the Court of *France*, the Author rallies the *Refugees*: ‘ That the Year 1689. the Year of *Accomplishment*, was expir'd, and yet none of those Miraculous Revolutions came to pass, which they had promis'd themselves. He congratulated them on the King's favourable Disposition for their Re-establishment; and added, all the Sober Party in the Three Estates of the Kingdom would be overjoy'd to see them: But he advis'd 'em to make a kind of Quarantine, before they set foot in *France*, to purge away the bad Air they had breath'd in the Places of their Banishment, which had infected them with two very dangerous and very loathsome Distempers; one was the Spirit of *Saroy*, the other the *Republican* Spirit, tending to introduce the State of Anarchy, the bane of Humane Society.’ It being thus that the Favourers of Tyranny treat all Commonwealths, without considering that a *Republick* is as far from *Anarchy*, where a *Republick* is the *Constitution*, as a *Monarchy* can be. But there are certain Terms which they will ever turn into their Contraries, as the Vices and Virtues are often confounded;

ded ; *Liberty* is with those *Licence* ; *Privilege, Sedition* ; a *Republick, Anarchy*. There is nothing in the World so good and so desirable, but they may corrupt and render it *Odious*. The mention of the favourable Disposition of the *French King* to the *Refugees*, must relate to the *Project of Peace* that follow'd two or three Months after.

Whether Monsieur *Bayle* was really the Author of these two Treatises, as Monsieur *Jurieu* endeavour'd to prove in a long and warm Controversy with him, which in the End was brought before the Magistrates of *Rotterdam*, or whether the *Project* was written by a Club at *Geneva* ; 'tis allow'd by all to have been brought into the World by a Person in that City, who communicated it to the Resident of *France* there, who sent the Manuscript to *Madam de Maintenon*, and she return'd it to him Corrected. It was he who sent it to *Holland* to be printed, as also to *Lausanne* in *Switzerland*, and Copies of it were immediately handed up and down in those Countries. It was also printed at *Paris* with the King's Privilege annex'd to it, and all possible Care and Industry were used by the *French Court*, to have it spread through most Nations of *Europe*. Is it not amazing, that the Court of *France* should engage the very Men whom they had driven from their Native Country, their Friends and Relations, to draw their Pens in their Quarrel ? Oh the wouderful Power of God ! The very Persons who could quit every Thing dear to them for Conscience-sake, cannot resist its Charms, and being

being taken in the dangerous Minute, for a few Pieces they give up all the Glory of Confessors. By this Project, which could not be concerted without the Knowledge of King *James*, one may see what a Terror *France* had upon Her, even then in the midst of her Boasts and Triumphs. The Confederacy was so terrible to Her, that for fear of being beaten, she offer'd to give up as much as when she was beaten, and to do a great deal more in favour of the Protestants. Her Friends in *England* may see by this Scheme, how little the French King valu'd King *James*'s Interest, when his own was in Question; for that was a Point he gave up presently, the Author telling us, the French King might be induc'd to wave that Prince's Quarrel any further than to give him a safe Retreat within *France*, if he design'd it, and that the French Government would acknowledge King *William* and Queen *Mary*'s Title to the Crown of Great Britain and *Ireland*: In a Word, by this Scheme of a Peace with *France*, two Years after the Revolution, when the Word was just got out of his Mouth, that he wou'd never sheath his Sword till King *James* was restor'd; when he had gain'd Battels, and taken Towns; when he had numerous Armies flush'd with Success, ready to break in on all sides; then, I say, he was to be in no better a Condition than he was before the War began, and their Majesty's Title was to be ratify'd by a Solemn Sanction, in Exclusion of King *James*. The Author concludes his Project thus, with respect to the Protestants: Tho'

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the French King for his Honour could not well make Void the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, or ratify the Edict itself, which he had in the open View of the World, and with consent of the Parliament of Paris condemn'd; yet to satisfy their Majesties of Great Britain, and other Protestant Princes and States, the Most Christian King would be willing by a particular Article of the Treaty to grant to the Protestants of France (that either are in their own Country already, or that shall return home) the same kind of Liberty for the Exercise of their Religion, and Enjoyment of their Estates, as the Roman Catholicks are possess'd of in the United Provinces. I recommend to the Reader the Treaty of Ryswick and other Treaties, as far as they have relation to the Protestants, to see what Ground the Allies got afterwards in this Matter, and whether Time had not cool'd those Protestant Princes and States, whom the French King was then willing to satisfy in their Zeal for the *Hugonots*. I come now to the Scheme itself, which will be a very curious Piece to such as have a fancy to compare it with some others of a later Date.

The Offers of *FRANCE* in the Year 1690.

I. **I**N the first Place France offers to restore to the Emperor the Towns of Friburgh and Philipburgh dismantled, with all their Dependencies.

II. France

II. France shall retain the Dutchy of Lorrain and Bar and in lieu thereof, shall keep in Pay 6000 Men in Servia, to conquer that State for the Children of the late Duke of Lorrain, and shall continue to pay those Forces till that Country be entirely in their Possession.

III. France shall restore to the Elector of Brandenburgh, all She possesses in the Dutchy of Juliers.

IV. France shall restore to the Crown of Spain all She has taken in Catalonia.

V. France shall retain Luxemburgh, the Franche Comte, and what She posseſſ'd before the War, with Mons.

VI. Cassal shall be restor'd to the Duke of Mantua, and Pignerol and Montferrat to the Duke of Savoy.

VII. France shall give entire Satisfaction to the Hollanders; She shall abandon to them the Trade to the East Indies, and in Consideration of them shall demolish several Places in Flanders, that may be thought most troublesome to them.

VIII. As to England, France shall abandon the Interests of King James, and leave King William in the peaceable Possession of the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, and all the Countries and Islands in America thereto belonging; and King William shall be acknowledg'd to be Lawful King thereof by the Crown of France, and by the Allies of the French King.

IX. France shall keep the Town and Country of Orange, but shall in lieu thereof give to the King of England, Lands to the Equivalent in the Country of Wavre, or otherwise theret

there shall be certain Lands in the Country of Juliers or Cleves, annexed to the Country of Meurs; which shall be erected by the Emperor into a Duchy, and shall bear the Name of the Duchy of Nassau.

X. The Town and Country of Avignon shall continue to the French, and the Duke of Savoy shall pay for the Crown of France, as the Price of Avignon to the Apostolick Chamber, 50000 Crowns a Year, in Consideration of their restoring to him Pignerol.

XI. France shall give up to the Swiss Cantons the Fortress of Huninghen demolish'd, provided the Emperor do likewise give up to the Swiss the Four Forest Towns.

XII. France shall render to the Archbishop of Treves, the Town of Treves, and all She is possess'd of belonging to that Archbiskoprick.

XIII. France shall restore to the King of Sweden the Town and Duchy of Deux Ponts, and shall demolish Mount Royal and Fort Louis.

XIV. Count Teckely shall be made by the Emperor Prince of Moldavia and Walachia, Feudal one of the Empire, and shall thereupon renounce all Dependencies on the Port.

XV. France shall restore to the Prince Palatine, and all other Princes and Seates of the Empire, all Towns and Countries they have taken since the beginning of this War.

XVI. For the Guaranty of the Peace, the Princes of Europe shall give Yearly amongst them to the Swiss Cantons, Six hundred Thousand Crowns for entertaining 40000 Men always in readiness, to be sent into the Field

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upon 24 Hours warning, to act against the first Infringer of the Peace, or of any Articles of it.

XVII. That the Protestants of France shall have the same Liberty, and the same Privileges, as to their Liberties and Estates, that the Roman Catholicks enjoy within the States of the United Provinces; and those of the Protestants that have fled their Country, may freely return thereto, and to their Estates and Possessions therein.

XVIII. That France shall heartily, and with such Number of Men as shall be agreed to at the concluding of the said Peace, assist the Emperor against the Common Enemy the Turks.

XIX. That of common Consent, there shall be endeavours used to Conquer the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Syria for the late King James.

Lastly. That the Heirs of the late Duke of Lorrain shall establish the City of Belgrade for their Capital, and France shall pay them a considerable Sum of Money for his Pretensions to Lorrain, over and above what is above mention'd on that score.

Besides this, the Turks being beaten out of Europe, the Elector of Bavaria was to be made Emperor of Constantinople.

The French Court finding this Project was rejected by all the Allies, and particularly by King William, they wou'd fain have disown'd it: They call'd in all the Copies they could meet with in France, and were well enough pleas'd that the States Gener-

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Part III. of EUROPE.

179

ral discourag'd the Book in their Domini-
ons, tho' for Reasons that were not very
grateful to them, there being a *Faction* then
in *Holland*, who were so *blind* to their own
Interest, as under the pretence of saving
Blood and Treasure, to be too eager to
hearken to any Terms of *Peace*. Their
Heads were doubtless well paid by *French*
Pensions, and the Name of *Peace* in *Holland*
has in all Times had Charms enough to
form a Party in its Favour.

I know there are some People, who to
lessen the Credit of this Project, and save
the Reputation of *France*, pretend it was
written by Mr. *Goudet*, a Merchant at *Ge-
neva*, and was sent by Mr. *Minutoli*, a Mi-
nister and Professor of Humanity in that
City, to Mr. *Bayle*, which is no Argument
that the *French* Court did not approve of it.
The same People acknowledging it was re-
vis'd by the Resident of *France*, who durst
not have concern'd himself in such a Work
without leave of his Master, who wou'd
not have given him leave without seeing
it; and the Pretence made use of to send it
from *Geneva* to *Holland* shews, it was to
convey it to the Powers engag'd in the
Confederacy, under Colour of consulting
some Eminent Persons belonging to them
upon it, some of whom were nam'd in par-
ticular, as my Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, the
Baron *de Groeben*, Governor to Prince *Lewis*,
the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Brother, Mr.
Van Beuning, Mr. *Hulst*, Resident for the
States at *Brussels*, and others. Mr. *Bayle*
did accordingly communicate the Project to

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these Gentlemen ; some of 'em sent it back unread, and others wrote him Word, that it was not only meanly writ, but besides was stuff'd with meer Visions. Mr. Bayle's Friends say he never read it himself, and in Answer to Monsieur Minutoli, he wrote him, *That the Author of this Piece might assure himself, no Proposals of a General Peace would be hearken'd to which did not deprive the King of France of all his Acquisitions, and put it out of his Power to give his Neighbours any further Jealousy.* But alas ! Monsieur Bayle, as Critical and Metaphysical a Head as he had, was no great Master of Politicks ; he did not understand how Victory might turn the Scale, as to the Ballance of Power, and that there might be such a thing as Beating the French King to such a degree of Impotence, that 'twould be necessary to leave him his Acquisitions, to prevent his being quite over-born by new Givers of Jealousy. Notwithstanding all the Excuses of Monsieur Bayle and his Friends, one cannot doubt of his having taken on him the Management of the Affair of the *Projet*, farther than King William wou'd have had him, by the Displeasure that Prince express'd against him in the Year 1693. when he order'd the Magistrates of Rotterdam to deprive him of his Professor's Place, and take away his Pension.

The Affair happen'd thus : Tho' the French King in appearance triumph'd on all sides, the War began to sit heavy upon him ; the great Efforts he made to maintain his Superiority over his Enemies, had drain'd his

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Part III. of EUROPE.

181

his Kingdom of Men and Money, and he could not hope to get more by the War in these Circumstances, than he might by a Peace, when the Confederates were at Land every where unsuccessful. Let the Peace clip *France* of some of her Conquests, it was better than to hazard them all with the further impoverishing and depopulating the Kingdom: She therefore set all her Engines at Work to bring it about decently; She dexterously engag'd some of the Neutral Powers to break it to the Allies, letting them understand she was dispos'd to restore Part of her Acquisitions to the Princes from whom she had taken them, for the sake of Peace.

In the Year 1692. she try'd all Artifices to break the Grand Alliance; She knew the Princes of the Empire were disgusted at the Erecting the *Ninth Electorate*, and offer'd 'em Assistance, if they would assert their pretended Rights and Priviledges against it. No means were omitted to get off the Duke of *Savoy*, to which purpose the Dutchess was often importun'd by the Duke of *Orleans*, her Father; but that Prince had been too ill us'd by the Court of *France* so soon to forget it. The latter caus'd Conditions of Peace to be propos'd at *Ratisbonne* for the Emperor and Empire, and dispatch'd the Secretary *du Pile* to *Holland*, to manage a Negotiation of the same Nature there, while, to frighten the Provinces, the *French Army* made a terrible Irruption into *Brabant*: But all the Confederate Princes rejected the Offers that

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were

were separately made, them, King William never giving his Enemy the least Encouragement, notwithstanding all the Difficulties he met with: He wou'd never hearken to any *Separate* Measures, though the strongest Temptations from France were not wanting. In Spain the Pope wroight by his Nuncio to dispose his Catholick Majestie to a Treaty with France. That Crown was Weak, and the King the same; yet so heartily did the Spaniards then hate the French, that no Prince refus'd to treat with France with more Resolution than the King of Spain, as will appear by King Charles II's Letter to the Pope on this Subject; which I intent not only to shew how firmly he kept to the Confederacy, but how ill he and other Princes had been us'd by the French King.

Most Holy Father in Jesus Christ,

THE Archbishop of Narciarck, your Holiness's Nuncio, hath imparted to us the Memorial by which your Holiness, moved with a pious and holy Zeal, Exhorts us to a General Peace; but since it is the secure Establishment of that very Peace which the Confederate Princes have proposed to themselves, by their uniting together, and the only Design which they had in beginning the War, it is necessary to declare, that so long as the Power of France shall continue without being reduc'd within the just Bounds of Reason, it is impossible to obtain a firm

firm and lasting Peace, or that the Princes of Europe can enjoy a settled Tranquility. What Terms more Strong, or what Oaths more Solemn can be made use of to confirm the Peace, than those which were employed in the *Pyrencean Treaty*? What greater Assurances could be given than the Guaranty which the Princes had given them at *Aix la Chapelle*? And what Advantage can at this Day be offer'd to *France* to bound and stop its Ambition, when the Provinces yielded to that Crown by the Peace of *Nimeguen*, have not been sufficient to satisfy the greedy Desires it hath always had of enslaving its Neighbours? If all these Treaties were not able to subsist, the King of *France* having violated all of them, what other Treaty can at present be invented, that may be durable, and not be subject to Contraventions and other Inconveniencies. Since the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, it was believed another means was found out, of establishing the Publick Repose, namely, the Truce of Twenty Years, bought with the Expence of so many unjust Usurpations which the King of *France* has been the Author of; which ought to have been peaceably enjoyed for all that space it was intended for, but *France* has observed this Truce no better than the Peace; for scarce four Years of the Twenty were elapsed, but seeing the Emperor extending his Conquests in *Hungary*, and at the same time the Borders of the Church, he

• broke the said Truce, without declaring
• War, took *Philipsburgh*, assaulted the
• Empire and committed unheard of Cru-
• elties and Ravages in the *Palatinat*,
• sufficiently known to every one, after he
• had excited a Rebellion in *Mongary*, as
• well against the Catholick Religion, as a-
• gainst him who is the Head thereof, af-
• listed Count *Treckly*, call'd in the *Turk*, to
• his Assistance, giving him Entrance into
• *Austria*, and made him depopulate the
• same with Fire and Sword, and to car-
• ry away a good part of its Inhabitants
• into Slavery, from whence ensu'd the
• Emperor's being forc'd to withdraw from
• *Vienna*, and the Siege of that City, on
• whose preservation depended the Safety
• of the Empire, and of all *Christendom*.
• But whereas this Misfortune of *Christen-*
• *dom* might have been sufficient to have
• moved *Compassion* in the *most hard hearted*
• and *barbarous Natures*, instead thereof
• we see at this Day the said King endeav-
• ouring to encrease these Calamities, and
• folliciting the *Turk*, by his Ministers, to
• continue them; and, which is more im-
• piously horrid, sends him Assistance of not
• only *Soldiers*, but *Ingineers* and *Officers*,
• to instruct those *Infidels* more advantage-
• oufly in that *Art of War* which he him-
• himself makes use of, in employing *Arti-*
• *ficial Fires, Bombs and Carcasses*, rather for
• the *Ruin* and *Destruction* of *Human kind*,
• than of *Profit or Advantage* to be reap'd
• thereby. Witness *Genoa*, *Barcelona* and
• *Alicant*, whose *Ruines* do sufficiently te-
• stify

stify, That his Rage spares neither Churches nor Clusters, nor makes any difference in the Sufferings of those who are Consecrated to the Service of God, than of other Innocent Souls. The War which he hath prosecuted in Piedmont, for no other Reason, but because the Duke of Savoy would not submit his Neck to the Yoke of Bondage, ought not to seem strange, if it be consider'd how many Affronts he has offer'd to Innocent XI. whose excellent Virtues have made his Memory Blessed, setting the Clergy of his Dominions and his Parliament, in opposition to his Authority. All these notorious and uncontrollable Truths, do sufficiently manifest, most Holy Father, that there can be no better methods taken to procure an assured Peace, than by the continuing of a vigorous War, which we esteem necessary, as well for the Publick Good, as for the Honour of your Holiness, the Authority of the Holy See, and the Propagation of the Faith. We hope your Holiness, after you have made due Reflections upon the aforesay'd Reasons, will continue the Assurances you have begun to afford the Emperor for the Defence of Christendom against the Turks, and that you will approve of the Resolution we have taken to Adhere firmly to the Treaties and Alliances wherein we are ingaged, and that you will not refuse us your Holy Benediction.

Madrid, &c.

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The *France* had such ill Success every where in courting the Allies to a Treaty; She did not despair of disposing the *Dutch* to hearken to it, by the Intimation She had given their Emissaries to exaggerate their Losses in Trade, and the necessity there was of *Peace*. She offer'd 'em a sufficient Barrier, and an *entire Liberty of Commerce*, assuring them, they should have the settling of all the Articles relating to Trade.

My Author wrote this in *Holland*, where he had more Opportunities to inform himself of those Overtures than we have. The Freedom with which People talk and write of the Publick Affairs, which are every ones Concern, let them into Secrets that in other Governments are lock'd up in the Cabinets of Ministers. Can one imagine, that the Earl of *Orford's* Victory at Sea this Year was so important, that the *French* wou'd let the *Dutch* make their own *Tariff*, Twenty Years before the Treaty of *Utrecht*? No, sure, one cannot think it, especially when we see how that Lord has been since treated by his own Countrymen. One can by no means allow such extraordinary Merit in a Service that is reckon'd of so small Account by them; What then could induce the *French* Court so long ago to offer the *Dutch* the settling of all the Articles relating to Commerce? Unless it was to divide 'em from their Confederates, but no Advantages of Barrier nor Trade, for which their Enemies represent them daily as ready to give up their Religion, their God, could pre-

prevail with them to listen to any *Separate Measures*.

The *Dutch* rejected these Offers, and some Persons of great Note moving, that they might enter into a Treaty on these Preliminaries, were silenc'd in such a manner as put 'em out of a Condition of carrying on any *Negotiation*. They scorn'd to Sacrifice the Common Cause to their own Advantage? A *Barrier* and *Trade* wou'd not satisfy them, except the Confederates were also satisfy'd, and that at a Time when the Battel of *Landen* had reduc'd the Affairs of the Allies to a sad Extremity. Mr. *Jurieu*, Professor of Divinity at *Rotterdam*, gave Intimation to some Lords of King *William's* Court, that Mr. *Bayle* had been deeply concern'd in the *Project of Peace*, and represented him as an *Emissary of France*. These Lords made a Report of it to King *William*, whose True Friends had such an Abhorrence of any Treaty with her, till she was effectually reduc'd, that they very readily embrac'd an opportunity of putting a stop to all such Clandestine Practices. They inform'd his Majesty there was a *Cabal in Holland* driving on a *Peace*; that Mr. *Bayle* was one of the principal Members of it, and had even the Boldness to attempt printing a *Project* to this purpose, drawn up by the Court of *France*.

I cannot but believe there must be something more than ordinary in Mons. *Bayle's* Management with Reference to the *Project*, the Court of *England* wou'd not else have taken Umbrage at it. The Ministers told

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the King positively it was drawn up by the French Court, and no doubt their Intelligence was as good as Mr. Gouder's, or Mr. Minutoli's, though indeed Gouder himself boasted, that it had been revis'd by one of the Syndic's of Geneva, before he shew'd it to the French Resident, and both of 'em approv'd of it.

The Lords put King *William* in mind, that the Peace in 1678. had been carry'd on by Writings of the same kind, dispers'd in *Amsterdam* and elsewhere. There was a Circumstance in Mr. *Bayle*'s Conduct which made this Suggestion very probable, and that was, his chusing Monsieur *Paers* of *Rotterdam* for his Patron, when he came first to that City. This Gentleman was Brother-in-Law to Mr. *Cornelius De Wit*; consider'd as the Head of the Party which oppos'd the House of *Orange*, and therefore it was not without difficulty that he was admitted again into the Magistracy of *Rotterdam*, after his Return from his Embassy to *Spain*. And there is this remarkable in Monsieur *Paets* Character, that he was the only Man of Quality in *Holland* who ever publish'd a Panegyrick on King *James II.* as was the beginning of a Letter of his printed in the Year 1685. under this Title, *HVB ad B. de Nuperis Anglia Motibus, &c.* wherein he particularly Praises that King, for never violating the just Limits of his Conscience, and religiously keeping his Word. Witness his dissembling his Religion for so many Years, his conforming to the Church of *England* before his Accession to the Throne, and

and his performing his Promise to that Church after it.

That the Gentlemen of the *Lowenstein* Faction still kept a Correspondence with the French Ministers, or their Creatures in France, there was great Reason to suspect, and not a little from another Event concerning the same Author we are speaking of, Mr. Bayle. As soon as his *Historical and Critical Dictionary* was publish'd, and appear'd in France, the Booksellers of Paris intending to reprint it, apply'd to the Chancellor for a Licence. The Chancellor order'd the Abbot *Renaudot*, the *Paris Gazette*, to examine whether there was any thing in it against the State, or the Catholick Religion. The Abbot having obey'd the Chancellor's Orders, made his Report: That the very worst things said for Fifty Years past against the Catholick Religion, were to be found in the several Parts of this Dictionary: That the Catholick Authors were abused: That there were Eulogies all along on the Calvinist Ministers, and whatever could render the Reign of Lewis XIV. odious, with Regard to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, and the Complaints of the Refugees: That there was a visible Affectation in the whole, of raking up whatever was most blackening and Injurious to the Persons of the last Kings of France. The Chancellor's Orders confin'd him to Heresy and Sedition, and if he had kept only to those Two Points, 'tis not improbable but he would have pass'd it: But the Abbot, a Court Pensioner, and a Tool of the Church of *Rome*, could not restrain his Zeal,

Zeal, and he examines it as a *Casuist*, and *Critic*. Mr. Bayle said, he found the Abbot's Judgment of his Work so full of Mistakes, Falshoods, and Impertinences, that he declar'd he wou'd not Answer him till the Author own'd it to be his.

The Abbot, who never intended that his Judgment of Mr. Bayle's Work shou'd be printed, was terribly frighten'd when he heard it was made Publick in *Holland*; that Mr. Bayle talk'd of confuting it, and in this Fright he apply'd to Mr. De Wit, Son of him that was murther'd in 1672. who was his Friend, to entreat him to oblige Mr. Bayle not to write against him. The Author of the *Dictionary* was glad of this Occasion to shew his Deference for Mr. De Wit, who had honour'd him in a particular manner with his Friendship, and freely consented to a perpetual Truce. I shall digress a little to observe, that Monsieur St. Evremond, who had a particular Esteem for Mr. Bayle, and read his *Dictionary* with a world of Pleasure, gave himself the trouble to write an Answer to Abbot Renaudot's Judgment: But as he saw that the *Gazetteer's* Writing was only a meer Declamation, he does it only in that fine and delicate Irony of which he was so much a Master.

I can't help thinking from Mr. Bayle's Friendship with Messieurs Paets and De Wit, and from the latter's Friendship with the Abbot Renaudot, that there was not so much Injustice as his Friends complain of in King William's Resentment of his dispersing the

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French Project of Peace, which none can doubt was dispers'd at least with the Privy and Consent of the Court of France, their Minister having, as all agree, read it in Manuscript. His Friends were of that Faction, which all along espous'd the French Interest in Holland; the Lords told his Majesty so, That he had all Friendly Offices done him by several Persons of Distinction, who had no Affection for the House of Orange, and his Antagonist Monsieur Jurieu says of him, That not being able to bear the King of France run down, and being beside scandaliz'd at the Revolution in England; and the debroning King James, he had written a Libel against Religion, against the State, and against the Revolution of England; alluding to the Avis before-mentioned, of which he was then the reputed Author. Whether he wrote the Book or not, his Sentiments of our using King James, were still the same, according to Mr. Jurieu: Nay, one of his own Friends writes of him thus, Mr. Bayle having been bred in some Modern Notions of the Protestants of France, concerning the Sovereign Power of Princes, 'tis no wonder he strain'd this Point so high. Nor is it any wonder that a Man who was for Passive Obedience and Non Resistance, who was a Friend to the Leaders of the French Faction in Holland, should be employ'd to write, or to disperse a Project of Peace, in which France so well found her Account. To urge this Matter a little further, because it not only vindicates King William's Treatment of this Professor, but also proves him to be of a

Party,

Party, which not having a Friendship for that Prince, must consequently have it for his Enemy the *French* King. A Person of the first Quality in *England*, whose Wit, Learning and Capacity distinguish'd him as much as his Rank and Station, let a Friend of Mr. *Bayle*'s understand, that he would not be displeas'd if the Great *Critical Historical* Dictionary was Dedicated to him by Mr. *Bayle*, and that in such Case he had six or seven Hundred Crowns at his Service. The Gentleman, who knew this Noble Lord's Disposition in favour of Mr. *Bayle*, to whom such a Sum would be as Advantageous, as such a Patronage Honourable, perswaded him to embrace the Offer, several others joyn'd in those Perswasions, but never could prevail on him. *The true Ground of his Refusal*, says one of his best Friends, *was this Lord's being then in the Ministry*, and he could never bring himself to Compliment any one in a Post at the Court of a Prince whom he thought he had some Reason to complain of. Tho' he had no occasion of Complaint against that King, till himself had given his Majesty just Cause to complain of him in siding with his Enemies, both in *France* and *Holland*. It is very plain the *French* took his Disgrace at *Rotterdam* to have been for loving them, and that they were so grateful to him, as to offer him a Mark of Distinction, which hardly any *Refugee*, of what Merit or Quality soever could boast of. For the Count *de Guiscard* hearing the Burgo-masters of *Rotterdam* had, by Order of King *William*, taken the Professors Chair

Chair and Pension from Mr. Bayle, he invited him to *France* for the Education of the young Count his Son, offering him a Thousand Crowns a Year, and assuring him he had taken such Measures with the Court of *France*, that he might enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience, but he excused himself on account of his *Great Dictionary*, which was then in the Press.

I do not see how any Circumstantial Evidence can be more strong than what has been related, to prove the Truth of any Fact so much a Secret, as it was for the Honour and Interest of *France* to keep this *Project of Peace*. However, we find the *French* continued their private Negotiations to divide the Allies, without which she did not then hope to come to a good end of the War; and whenever a League shall be found incapable of *Division*, she will despair of giving Laws to the rest of *Europe*, and be oblig'd in her Turn to take them from the Conquerors. I must own I shall not be displeased to live to that happy Day; for tho' I know what is the Crime of an Incendiary, and shall therefore take Care not to commit it, knowing 'tis for the publick Good to maintain the Peace when 'tis made, yet I cannot help confessing, that I am so hearty a Lover of *England*, that I shall always be an Enemy to *France*, shall rejoice at every Event which lessens her Power, and abate her Pride, and should think it the greatest Happiness that *Europe* could be blest'd with, to have her reduced to such a Condition, that she should for ever be as

much afraid of breaking the Peace, as she was to continue the War. In what the last Offers of *France* are better than the *Project* I have been speaking of, will appear by comparing the Articles of each one with another, which any one may do, they being in every Body's Hands, and the most Advantages there are in the last, could not but be the Effect of Ten Years Victories, of Conquer'd Kingdoms and Provinces, of the Approach of the Confederate Army to the Capital of *France*, and of the Impotence of the *French* to defend it.

It is no part of a Secret History to enter into the detail of Military Actions, with which all the Gazettes in *Europe* are plentifully furnish'd; I shall therefore refer to the Histories of those Times, for an Account of the Progress of the *French* King's Arms, before and after his first and second Offers of Peace. 'Tis sufficient to observe he had just made himself Master of *Mons*, and struck Terror not only into the Capital of *Brabant*, but into the Province of *Holland*; yet even now, says my Author, he comes to humble himself beyond what could be expected from a Prince in the lowest Ebb of Circumstances. At the Treaties of *Aix La Chapelle* and *Nimeguen*, he would not so much as consent to the Duke of *Lorain*'s having a Plenipotentiary, or Publick Minister to appear at the Congres, and all the Instances made by the Mediators for taking that Duke's Affair into Consideration, were utterly rejected by the Court of *France*: But in the *Project* we have been talking

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Part III. of EUROPE.

395

talking of, he offers to maintain a considerable Number of Men to conquer a Principality for his Children. More surprizing is it that when he was so successful in the Field, and so powerful at Sea, he shou'd offer to deliver up *Casal* and *Pignerol*, the two great Inlets into *Italy*; upon the getting of which into his Hands Cardinal *Mazarine* said, *He had now establish'd the French Monarchy above the Power of being taken on the Italian and Spanish side.* But what are these Conditions to those offer'd to the *Dutch*? Such a Tariff for Trade as they desir'd themselves, to give them entire Satisfaction, or to use the very Words of the Original, *On donnera une entiere Satisfaction aux Hollandois*, to yield up to them the whole Trade to the *East Indies*; upon which I shall repeat what is said by my Author, for my own Sentiments are of no Weight; and besides, considering the Difficulties the *Dutch* have had since about their Tariff, when they had Garrisons almost within a hundred Miles of *Paris*, I shall not presume to determine why it was the *French* were so easy in that Point, when they had Garrisons within less than a hundred Miles of *Amsterdam*. One at first Sight of this Article, says he, may conclude it to be design'd only for a *Bait to hook in the Hollanders to a Treaty, and indeed its hard to judge otherwise of a Court*, that offers and makes Treaties of Peace, meerly to be in a better Condition to break them: But that France wou'd really condescend thus far to the *Hollanders* at this Juncture, we have Reason to believe,

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considering they well knew the entire Union betwixt the King of England and them, and that they will never, in all Human Probability, be brought to make a separate Peace. These tempting Concessions, continues he, have to my knowledge been back'd by all the Intrigues of France at Amsterdam and the Hague, and long before the Project of Peace was heard of, their Ministers and Missionaries at some Courts, that shall be nameless, endeavour'd to propagate the Willingness of the French King, to put the Hollander in a better State than ever they were in since they were a Commonwealth to give the very Words of a Paper found with the French Ambassador's Secretary at Hamburg, about the latter end of the Year 1690. The Reason why I borrow so much from this Author, and add so little of my own, is easily deducible from the Juncture in which I write; I am resolv'd to have as little as possible to do with France till I find there's Encouragement from Authority, having learnt to conform my Opinion in all things to that of the Publick what other Men have thought I can't help and shall therefore leave them to vindicate themselves, if there's any Error in it. I know such Cautions as these are below the Dignity of *Secret History*, if there's any Dignity in it at all, and that *Anecdotes* are generally valuable for the Spirit and Boldness of the Author, which are however too often a Composition of Slander and Impudence. If I were in a Humour to write otherwise, I should leave my Writings to my Executors: But having not Patience to

stay so long, I must content my self with the Judgment of others, my own not being powerful enough to support itself. My Author proceeds:

What little Weight there is to be laid upon the Friendship of the French King, and how little Credit to be given to his Solemnest Promises and Leagues, we have a notable Proof of in that Article of abandoning the Interest of the Turks, and joyning with the Emperor against them. Its Lewis the XIV. that at first stirred up the Ottomans to break with the Emperor: Its he that began that Spark in Hungary, which has prov'd so terrible a Flame ever since: Its he that enter'd into the strictest Bonds of Friendship, and a League Offensive and Defensive with the Port against the Empire: Its he to whom the poor depos'd Sultan Mahomet IV. owes his Fall: Its he whose Friendship is at this Moment like to be as fatal to the present Grand Signior as it was to his Brother; yet after all, its the same Lewis the XIV. that offers to abandon the Turks at the low Ebb of their Fortune, even at that low Ebb to which he himself alone has brought them; and not only does he offer to abandon them, but to enter into a League against them. Here is an Instance among a Thousand others of the firmness of French Friendship, and how justly succeeding Ages will forget the Old Expression of Fides Punica, a Carthaginian Faith, for a much more Emphatick one of Fides Gallica, a French One.

But of all the Articles in this Scheme offer'd by the Victorious Lewis, none surprises me more than that he shou'd then

make such Concessions in favour of the Protestants, who ever since could hardly be brought to hear a Word in their behalf. He offer'd to allow them to return to their own Country and Estates, and since he has treated them as the Cardinal Polignac did the Dutch Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, as *Slaves* and *Criminals*, comparing them to the *Malefactors* in the Dutch *Rasp-houses*, What shou'd be the meaning of all this? Did he fear King *William*, scarce settled on the *British Throne*, and not much oblig'd to Victory and Fortune, more than the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, ever Triumphant? Or was it from a Despair of *England's* hearkning to separate Measures; and being as True to *Holland* as *Holland* was to Her. In this *Project* he cajoles the *Swiss* with the Guaranty of it, and Six hundred Thousand Crowns a Year; a Guaranty much stronger than any that was talk'd of in the *Ryswick*, or other Treaties. As for his insulting King *James* with the imaginary Conquest of *Jerusalem*, I think it is such an Instance of his courting King *William*, as sufficiently demonstrates what Apprehensions he had of the Vigour and Steddiness of his Councils. 'Tis strange, methinks, there shou'd have been a Wretch in *Britain* such a Friend to *France* as not to resent so base an Affront offer'd to a Prince, who had once been our King: *Was it not enough*, says the Author I have already borrow'd from on this Head, *for Lewis le Grand to have been the Source and Rise of all King James's Misfortunes, to have inspir'd him with Measures*

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Part. III. of EUROPE.

199

sures that have lost him Three Kingdoms, and lastly from a Principle of Vain Glory, and of Design to embroil these Kingdoms, to have decoy'd him over to France, to be, forsooth, under his Protection, and to eat his Bread, but must that faithless Monarch triumph likewise over him in the Circumstances he has brought him to, by a Proposal concerning him, that even his Enemies cannot but regret.

'Tis very amazing, that at a Time when the French King's Armies were not only gaining Battels, and taking Towns on the Continent, but in Conjunction with the Irish were disputing with King William the Possession of his Crown in his own Dominions, he shou'd make such large Concessions, and sue for a Peace on Conditions not much inferior to any he has since propos'd; that he shou'd besides so far submit to the Court of Rome, as to consent to what the French Nation had rejected above a hundred Years; I mean to receive the *Canons of the Council of Trent*, for approving of which the Cardinal of Lorain was condemn'd by the Assembly of the Clergy of France, at his return from that Council. In Henry the III's. Reign, the Pope's Nuntio and the Pensioners of Rome in France, had Intrigues with the Parliament of Paris to receive them, offering to allow of this Exception, *Salvo Honore & Libertate Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, The Honour and Liberty of the Gallican Church being safe. This Salvo, tho' never so plausible in itself, and tho' enforc'd by all the Arguments the Court of Rome was Master of, was yet rejected with Disdain, the first

President saying in the Face of the Assembly, *That such a Salvo was in effect a Contradiction in itself, the Canons of that Council and the Liberty of the French Church being Incompatible.* It was not above five or six Years before, that the French King was so enrag'd at Pope *Innocent XI.* who hated him, that he threaten'd to shake off the Subjection of the *Gallican* to the *Roman* Church, and set up a *Patriarch* in *France*. What means it that he shou'd now stoop so low, as to submit to what all his Predecessors refus'd, and to enslave the Church of *France* to that of *Rome*? I have met with the following Reflection on this Affair, which will save the Reader and my self the trouble of any: 'The fairest Interpretation can be made of this unusual Conduct, is, *That either the French King's Affairs press him very heavily, or he makes the Offer only to serve a Turn, and with a design to recal it when the Scene alters.* And indeed all the Treaties and Offers of Treaties this King ever made, were with a design to break them, when it was in his Power to do it with safety.' Whether this Gentleman's Judgment is to be minded or not, let every one determine for themselves, a small Acquaintance with History will qualify them to do it. I have touch'd upon these Matters to shew, that *France* has her humble Airs as well as her haughty, and to give others as much ground to wonder as I have had, that she shou'd be so condescending to King *William*, who, more than all the Princes of *Europe*, had given her Cause

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Part III. of EUROPE.

201

Cause of Resentment; tho', as has been said, these Offers were disown'd afterwards, when she found they wou'd not be accepted, and her Ministers us'd their utmost Endeavours to have a Scheme so much to their Master's Disgrace stifled; yet so afraid were they of a Turn of Affairs, that not long after another Project was handed up and down, after it had been formerly prepar'd in Sweden by the Count *d' Avaux*: But before I enter upon it, 'twill not be improper to observe what Successes France had met with in the Interval between the Two Schemes.

She had taken Mons, and the next Year, with a Royal Army commanded by the King in Person, reduced the strong Town and Fortress of *Namur*. In the following Year she gain'd a Bloody Victory at *Landen*. In Savoy the Battle of *Marsaglia* brought her fresh Lawrels, and on the side of *Catalonia* and *Germany* were her Enemies flying before her, yet at that Glorious Juncture of her Affairs did the court King *William* to a *Peace*, and such a *Peace* as the Emperor and his Allies might have accepted of with as good a Grace, as that which follow'd it.

The Offers of FRANCE in 1694.

FRANCE was then in Possession of *Friburg* and *Philipsburg*, yet She offer'd to part with both as an Equivalent for *Strasburg*, as also to restore *Mont-Royal* and *Traarbach*, in Consideration of Her keeping *Strasburg*.

France

France offer'd to restore the Dutchy of *Lorain* in as Ample Manner as it was afterwards restor'd to the present Duke by the Treaty of *Ryswick*.

She offer'd to restore all the Places taken from the Elector *Palatine*, and to renounce the Pretensions of the Dutchesse of *Orleans*, an Article She wou'd not consent to at the *Ryswick* Treaty.

She propos'd in this Scheme to renounce all Pretensions to the *Netherlands* in favour of the Elector of *Bavaria*.

Then also did She offer to renounce the Succession to the Kingdom of *Spain*, upon which I shall observe what a certain Author wrote at the time of the publishing of this Scheme: *That of the late Queen, says he, was as Solemn as could be wish'd; it was confirm'd by Oath; it was made not by the Queen alone but by the King her Husband, for himself and Successors; and yet they now declare it Null and Void, under Pretence that it was not in the Power of the late Queen to do it in Prejudice of the Dauphin; and therefore we may assure our selves, that tho' the King of France and the Dauphin should now consent to a new Renunciation, it would signify just nothing, without obtaining such Restitutions as should put it out of their Power to break their Words.*

France offer'd to restore all She had taken on the side of *Catalonia*, as also *Mons*, *Namur*, and *Charleroy* to the King of *Spain*.

As to *England* and *Holland*, She offer'd to acknowledge King *William*, and to renew and enlarge the Treaties of Commerce be-
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tween both Nations and Her : And to tempt the King of *Sweden* to set this Negotiation on foot, the Dnutchy of *Deux Ponts* was to be restor'd to him.

What cou'd induce this Haughty Monarch, when his Fortune was at the Height, when the Nations all around him trembled at his Name, and his Subjects were ready to build Altars to him as a God ; what, I say, cou'd induce him to sue for a Peace, and on as advantageous Terms to the Allies as any he has since made ? I take it to be nothing but the Resolution of King *William*, his Unalterable Firmness to the Cause of the Confederacy, and his Despair of dividing the Allies, who had so Warlike and so Steddy a Prince at their Head, surrounded by Ministers that hated *France*, with a hatred becoming the Lovers of their Country, and were Friends to the *Dutch*, out of a Principle which will always gain the Friendship of True *Britains*, that our Interests are *Inseparable*. This certainly was the ground of the *French* King's Complyances ; this made him afraid of his Fortune, which might easily be conquer'd by the Stediness of such a Prince as King *William*, and this humbled him so far as to put him upon courting a Peace in private, while publickly he had nothing in his Mouth but Victory, and the Glory of his Arms. The King of *England*'s Wisdom in rejecting these Offers was bleſſ'd with Success the next Year, and the Conquest of *Namur* made at once all the Lawrels of his Rival to wither, it being the only Conquest which he cou'd ever pretend to be his own.

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THE Share the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Duke of *Savoy* have had in the Two last Wars; their commanding alternately the Armies of the Allies and of *France*; the Rule they seem both to have been guided by, their particular Interest, changing Face from Time to Time, made me look a little curiously into their Affairs, and inquire how they came at first into the *Confederacy* against *France*, and by what Intrigues they *confederated* with her. There will several curious Circumstances fall in the way of such an Inquiry, which the Historians of those Times will be too discreet, or perhaps too negligent to mention.

I shall begin with the Elector of *Bavaria*, because that Electorate has been almost always in the Interests of *France*, the *French* and *Bavarians* having been in a League against the Empire long before that of 1702. At the famous Battel of *Norlingen*, did the *Bavarians* and *French* fight under the same General, the Prince of *Conde*, against the Imperialists, and they as well as the *Swedes*, have upon more Occasions than one, been found to have enter'd into Secret and close Alliances with *France*, to the endangering their own Liberties in the ruin of those of *Europe*. The present Elector was so far influenc'd by some *French* Emissaries near his Person, that he accepted of an yearly Pension from the King of *France* in his Youth. This Monarch had his Alliance with him so much at Heart, that he marry'd the Dauphin

phin to his Sister, and never did he court any Prince more than the Elector of *Bavaria*, who having so early submitted to be his *Pensioner*, one may imagine it must be a very extraordinary Cause that cou'd produce such an effect as a War. The first Motive was the Elector's Right to the Succession of *Spain*, entail'd upon his Wife's Mother when she marry'd the Emperor *Leopold*, in case of Failure of Heirs Male of the Spanish Branch of the House of *Austria*, her Sister and the present *French* King having at the Treaty of the *Pyrenees* renounc'd all Title to or Interest in the Succession. But how little this *Renunciation* was always valu'd at *Versailles*, every Body knows; tho' it was upon that Express Condition, that the Marriage betwixt *Lewis XIV.* and the *Infanta* was concluded. My Authority can go no further in this Case, I must therefore have recourse to better, and a very ingenious Gentleman had these Remarks upon it in a Treatise written soon after the forming the first Grand Alliance. To shew how little weight, says he, was even then to be given to the French King's Oaths, there were People employ'd in most Places of France to spread this Doctrine, That a King of France could not by his Oath or otherwise, renounce his Right to any Kingdom or Principality that might descend to him by Inheritance, and that such *Renunciations*, however made, were of themselves void. So that the very time the French King was swearing to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, and the Contract of

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Marriage with his Wife, he was designing to break every Article of them.

How early the French Court had Views to the Spanish Monarchy, notwithstanding all the solemn Treaties and Renunciations to the contrary, is too well known to want a Place among our *Anecdotes*, but probably the Methods that were taken to remove all other Obstacles are not so easy to get Intelligence of. In the Course of my Reading I have met with one very extraordinary one, and that is, in the Story of the first Wife of the late King of Spain *Charles II.* who had no Issue, when her Husband's Health and Years were most likely to procure that Blessing, without which 'twas plain the Spanish Succession must be decided by Arms. That Lady before she left France had not the fairest Play in the World, the Politicians being resolv'd not to trust the Catholick King's suspected Impotence. The lovely Princess had herself entertain'd some Jealousies, which she express'd on this Occasion, in both the Speeches made her by Order of the Parliament and University of Paris, upon her leaving that City, *It was wish'd her the Happiness of a numerous Progeny to inherit and bless the Crown of Spain.* At her retiring to her Chamber, she was pleased to say to the Princess of *Conti*; in a sort of serious Raillery. *It seems, Cousin, yorder two Gentlemen are better Orators than Politicians, else they would not have wish'd me to give Heirs to the Crown of Spain, so much contrary to the Interest of France.* She added, *I have no great Reason to fear the Hazards of Child-birth.*

birth. It is certain that Princess in her Journey to the Frontiers took several times occasion to speak of the Misfortune of the *Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia*, upon whom it was reported, her Father *Philip II.* had used means to prevent her having Children, that the *Low Countries* given her in Portion might return back to the Crown of *Spain*, for want of Issue of her Body, as it was mentioned in the *Entail*. No Body understood better than this Queen of *Spain* the Politicks of the *French Court*, She being one of the most knowing and refin'd Princesses of her Age that was in *Europe*.

To return to my Subject, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and his Intelligence with the *French Court*. The latter would very fain have impos'd a Wife upon him, not only a Widow but a Bastard; the Princess Dowager of *Conti*, Daughter of the *French King* by Madam *La Valiere*; that having a *French Woman* in his Arms, he might be held fast in the Interests of *France*: But the Elector's Ministers receiv'd that Offer with Disdain, and knowing how to Influence their Master, they perswaded him to quit his Engagements with *France*, to enter into others with the Emperor, and to marry his Imperial Majesty's Daughter. As this gave the Elector a Prospect of the *Spanish Succession*, so it set the Court of *France* at Variance with that of *Bavaria*, and the latter, while that Prospect continu'd, was one of the most Zealous and Active of all the Confederate Princes. The *French King*, as much as the falling off of the Elector of *Bavaria*

varia griev'd him, put a good Face upon the Matter, and seem'd to treat it as an Affair which did not touch him; for upon the News of his declaring against *France* he went to the Dauphiness his Sister, and entring her Chamber, said, *Je gaigne, Madam, à cette Heure 1000000 Livres, en perdant Monsieur votre Frere. I have gain'd, Madam, just now, says he, a Million of Livres in losing your Brother.* He might have made his Profit more, the Elector's Pension being 800000 Crowns a Year.

We have seen what was the true State of his Electoral Highness's Quarrel with *France* in the first War. How he behav'd himself in it we all know, and how upon the Death of his Son, and the Advancement of his Nephew to the Throne of *Spain* he deserted the Allies, and rais'd a terrible War in the Bowels of the Empire, to which it is plain he aspir'd. As to his double Dealing with King *William*, his Sincerity in that War when his Hopes grew less, and his open Defection afterwards, something will be said in the Course of this History. All that I shall add here is another ground of Enmity, which as was reported, animated him against the *French*.

There was a Book published at *Cologn* about two or three and twenty Years ago, wherein are some Hints of the Reasons which induc'd the Elector of *Bavaria* to enter into the War against *France*. And one Reason given there, among others, is *His just Resentment of the Death of the late*

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Dauphine's his Sister. Whether that Princess had really any foul Play done her, I shall not presume to determine. It is not improbable but such a Suspicion might add Revenge to his Passion for Glory. Whether it did or did not, is not my Busines to enquire into farther than to repeat what we meet with concerning the Fact, and leave it to the Judgment of the Reader. The Mystery in some Places of this Book will not, I hope, be laid to my Charge, if it has the Honour to be read by Posterity. I take this opportunity to tell them that Truth is too severe to appear always barefac'd. She must sometimes be wrapt up in Fables and Ænigma's, when *Discretion* will not suffer a Man to shew her in a naked Dress. For this Reason I so often make use of other Men's Labours, taking Care to meddle with none but such as are rare and uncommon. I have read something on this very Subject, the Suspicion of the Elector that his Sister had not been fairly dealt with.

‘ I will not say, says my Author, but that
‘ eager desire of delivering so many Coun-
‘ tries from the Intrigues and Incroach-
‘ ments of *Lewis XIV.* might have been
‘ greatly sharpen'd by the succeeding Je-
‘ lousies of a Crime, said to be perpetrated
‘ upon so near a Relation: But several
‘ Years before this, he had not only aban-
‘ don'd the French Interest, but had done
‘ it in so noble a Way, as to forewarn that
‘ King before hand, That if he continu'd
‘ any longer his Friend, he must of necessity be-
‘ come a Promoter of the Slavery of his Coun-
‘ try.

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try. We find it a Natural (though perhaps an unwarrantable) Piece of Curiosity to peep into the Secrets of Princes, and to strive to find out the Reasons of their most Private Transactions. Of this there is a remarkable Instance in the Case of the late *Dauphiness*. Thousands of People both in *France* and elsewhere will needs think that that Princess was carry'd off by a slow *Poyson*, and do pretend to relate several Expressions that dropt from her in her Sickness, of her being perswaded that it was so. As they will not believe but she was *Poyson'd*, so they as boldly affirm the Occasion of it to have been a Letter intercepted from her to her Brother, regretting the Miseries she fear'd to her Native Country, from some Measures of *France* that had been secretly communicated to her. And as this Letter, say they, was the occasion of her own Death, so it was the occasion of the awakening of the Elector of *Bavaria* to declare against that Crown.

This Suspicion might probably be suggested after the Declaration of War against *France* by the Elector; but before the Matter was hush'd up, and the Duke of *Bavaria* gave no more Credit to it, or took no more Notice of it than King *Charles I.* did of the Death of his dear Sister the *Duchess of Orleans*.

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THE Duke of *Savoy*, who has made so various a Figure in the late War, was from his Infancy bred up by Persons entirely devoted to the *French* Interest. His Mother was so far infatuated by their Counsels as to enter into a cruel and unnatural Intrigue to divest her Son of the Dutchy of *Savoy*, and under pretence of procuring him, by a Match, the Kingdom of *Portugal*, to make him abandon his Dominions in *Italy* to the *French*.

The Cardinal *D'Estrées*, who was related to the Dutches of *Savoy*, was sent to *Turin* in the Year 1680, to manage this Affair, in concert with her. The *Infanta of Portugal* was the Duke's Cousin German, and Heir Presumptive of that Crown, the Prince Regent, *Don Pedro*, having then no more Children, and 'twas generally believ'd he would have no more. The Dutches of *Savoy* was a *French* Lady, Daughter to the Duke *de Nemours*, and Sister to the Queen of *Portugal*, and these two Princesses, Intriguing Ladies both of them, with the Assistance of the Cardinal *D'Estrées*, and the *French* King's Protection, undertook to bring this Matter about: The main Obstacle to it was a Law in *Portugal* call'd the Law of *Lamago*, by which a Female Heir forfeits her Right to the Crown, in case of a Marriage to a Stranger. It being necessary to have this Law abolish'd before the Negotiation could be set on foot the Cardinal *D'Estrées* offer'd his Master's

Interposition in that Matter. France accordingly sent a Minister to *Lisbon* to solicit it, and he put the Court of *Portugal* upon procuring the Abolishment of that Law, after which the Treaty of Marriage was soon agreed upon, and the *Infanta* sworn Heiress of the Crown by the *Cortes*. The two Princesses had their respective Views for their own Interests in this Match. The Queen of *Portugal* was fond of it, having Reason to believe, that by marrying her Daughter to her Nephew, she should not only be able to secure, but encrease the Share she had in the Government. Madam Royal of *Savoy*, who foresaw her Power could not last long in that Dutchy, the young Duke being of Age, Fourteen Years, old, was to be establish'd in her *Regency*, when her Son went to *Portugal*, where he was oblig'd to reside, and his Most Christian Majesty engag'd to support and defend her. Madam Royal soon found she could not accomplish her Designs in this Marriage nor Establish herself without the Assistance of the *French* Troops. The *Savoyard* and *Piemontoise* Nobility were highly enrag'd when the Match was proclaim'd, and the Duke's Equipage sent to *Lisbon* before him. They easily perceiv'd this Voyage was contriv'd by *France*, that when the Duke and his Nobility were in *Portugal*, the *French* King might meet with no Opposition in seizing a Naked and Defenceless Country. His Royal Highness having declar'd he expected all those who had any Relation to the Court, should attend him

Portugal, tho he did not require they should continue there, the Lords consulted among themselves, and let *Madam* his Mother know how prejudicial this Match would prove to the State, that they had never given their Consent to it, and look'd upon the sending the Duke to *Portugal* in a manner intended as a Design to expose the Country to the *French*: But the Dutchess's Ambition to be Mother to a King, to secure her *Regency*, and perform her Engagements to *France*, made her not only persist in her Resolution, but send to desire the Assistance of the *French* King, without which she saw she was likely to miscarry. Accordingly he who above all others was most concern'd that the Marriage should go on, order'd a considerable Body of Troops to march towards the Borders of *Savoy*. The Garrison of *Pignerol* was strongly reinforce'd, 2000 Men were sent to *Casal*, which he had newly bought of the Duke of *Mantua*, and Quarters were preparing in *Savoy* for 3000 more. The Motion of the *French* Troops allarm'd but did not frighten the Nobility of *Savoy* who took an opportunity when *Madam Royal* was at one of her Country Palaces, to represent to his Royal Highness, ' How much it import'd him to consider he was little better than a Prisoner, his Domains being on every side surrounded with *French* Troops; that the Dutchess had concert'd Measures with the *French* King to put his best Places into his Majesty's Hands, as soon as he was imbarke'd for *Portugal*; that she was sending him to *Lisbon*

‘ *bon*, not that he might reign there, but
‘ that she might reign in *Savoy*; that he
‘ must not think to act as Sovereign in
‘ *Portugal*, while the Prince and Queen
‘ liv’d, and consequently it was not his In-
‘ terest to be kept in Subjection there,
‘ while he might stay at Home and command
‘ them as his most Dutiful Subjects. They
‘ put him in Mind of the mortal Hatred
‘ the *Portuguese* bore to Strangers, that
‘ they were compell’d to consent to this
‘ Match, and if they should set him aside in
‘ the Succession, as they had done the King
‘ of *Spain*, he was like to be turn’d out of all,
‘ for the *French*, during his Absence, would
‘ be sure to make themselves Masters of
‘ *Savoy*, and it would be a hard Matter to
‘ get them in a Humour to restore it.

Notwithstanding all these Remonstrances, the Crown of *Portugal* being entail’d on the Duke of *Savoy*, in case of failure of Heirs Male of *Don Pedro*’s Body, the Match was represented to the young Duke by his Mother and some of her Ministers, brib’d by *France*, as the most Glorious one that could happen; insomuch, that the Duke resolv’d to proceed, and a Day was set for his Imbarkation for *Portugal*, to take possession of his Bride, and the Reversion to that Crown. The Duke appointed his Mother Regent of *Savoy* in his Absence, so far did the Conspirators carry on their Design. The Power of that Dutchy was lodg’d in those Hands that were ready to deliver it up to such as the *French* King should send to demand it. A very small Army

Army would have done the Business, and Savoy had probably been a Province of France before he arriv'd in Portugal. However Corrupt his Court was, the Nobility resolv'd not to give over their Remonstrances, and to the last they continu'd their Endeavours to put a stop to his Voyage. When he was beginning his Journey to the Sea-side, they had the Courage to take his Horse by the Bridle and tell him in plain Terms, *He must not expose himself to the Danger of losing his own Estate for the uncertain Hopes of another.* The Dutches's Creatures were alarm'd at this Loyal Rudeness, exclaiming against it as an insufferable Piece of Insolence; but the Duke, who, as it is said, had secretly concerted this Affair before Hand, seem'd in the end to be touch'd with the Reasons his Honest Nobles gave him for his stay at Turin, tho' at first he fell into a violent Passion of Anger at their Boldness in daring to stop him. When he had listned coolly to their Arguments, and suffer'd himself to be prevail'd upon by them, *He ask'd what he should do to avoid the Danger he was in?* They answer'd with the same Confidence they had before us'd, *There was no other way left but to secure his Mother.* The Expedient surpriz'd him, but the Lords finding what they had already said had made a strong Impression upon him, gave him no Time to recollect his Filial Tenderness, pressing him to consent to it, saying, *His own Safety for the future lay in his own Power.* They added, *As for their own Parts, if he would not do it,*

they resolv'd to retire into some other Country, where they should at least have the Comfort to know they had no Hand in the Attempts that might be made against his Person and Dignity. They then shed some Artificial Tears, which so melted the Duke, that returning to Court, he sign'd a Warrant immediately for securing his Mother. The Lords took hold immediately of this Opportunity of the Dutches's Absence, and did what they could to prepare for the Execution of the Warrant when she return'd ; but she came back to Court before they were in a readiness, extreamly surpriz'd at the Circumstances of his Return, and to find him so Sad and Pensive. She conjur'd him to tell her what ail'd him : He making no Answer, she added to her Entreaties the Caresses of a Mother, Embracing him, till she perceiv'd the Tears trickled down his Cheeks. She then renew'd her Attacks upon him with greater Vigour, calling him her *dearest Child*, weeping with him, and endeavouring by a very moving Scene to soften him to a Confession of what lay upon his Spirits, which she suppos'd was something extraordinary, and not for her Interest. In the height of this Passion he could not contain himself, but confess'd he had sign'd an Order for the Commitment of her Person. The Dutches struck with this so terrible a Revolution in her Fortune, and seeing she had no Time to lose, sent presently for her Confidants and Creatures, doubled her Guards, and caus'd those Lords to be seiz'd who had given her Son that fatal Counsel.

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Not content with this, she admitted *French* Forces to march into *Turin*, and, as some write, form'd a Design to have her Son carry'd by force to *Portugal*; but he had conceiv'd such an Aversion to the Voyage, by what his faithful Friends had remonstrated to him, that he no more talk'd of it, but pretending to be sick, the Fleet of *Portugal*, which waited to take him on Board, went home as it came. There were some of those Lords still about him, and he was so true to them as not to discover them to his Mother. He order'd his Servants and Equipage back from the Port where they expected him, and hearkning to the wholesome Advice of his best Servants, he not long after remov'd his Mother and her Favourites from the Administration, by which good Counsel of these true Friends to their Country was *Savoy* then sav'd from a *French* Yoke, and the Dutches, who was to impose it on them, was forc'd to shut herself up in a Convent some Leagues from *Turin*.

This Revolution was a great Mortification to the *French* Court, who had set their Hearts on acquiring the Duke's fair Territories on that side, and it was on this account they suffer'd a Match to go on which they had before forbidden, that of the Count *de Soissons* with *Madamoiselle de Beauvais* a Private Gentlewoman, that Count, Prince *Eugene*'s Elder Brother, being Heir Presumptive to the Dukedom of *Savoy*, after the Death of the Prince of *Carignan*, the Duke's Uncle. The *French* Court not caring now what became of a Prince so nearly ally'd

ally'd to *Savoy*, which had so disoblig'd 'em, no more disturb'd the young Count in his Amours, and, to the great Grief of his House, he marry'd her without Quality or Fortune.

Some time after this Change of the Ministry in *Savoy*, the World was acquainted with the Designs of *France* in the *Portuguese Match*. The Duke being once gone, the Dutchy of *Savoy* and Principality of *Piedmont* had been annex'd to that Crown, which had been easily accomplish'd, the French King having above 50000 Men in *Dauphiny* ready to pour into *Savoy*, when the Duke and his most experienc'd Generals were absent in *Portugal*, it being so contriv'd, that those Officers should accompany him thither,

One would think the discovery of such a Plot, should for ever have cur'd the *Savoyard* of any Inclination to *France*, but notwithstanding the Administration was intrusted to others, the Measures of the old Ministers were in some wise pursu'd by the new, to keep *Savoy* in a Dependance on *France*: For this purpose it was, that a Marriage was concluded between the Duke and the Daughter of the Duke of *Orleans*, the French King's Brother, which occasion'd so close an Alliance between *France* and *Savoy*, that it was thought almost impossible it should ever be broken. The French Court entirely govern'd that of *Savoy*: Their Gold blinded the Duke and all his Ministers, they could not see the Ruin they were drawing on themselves, and that the *Savoyard*

voyards, when the rest of *Europe* was en-
slav'd, could only hope to have their Chains
later. Nothing gives us a more lively In-
stance of the Influence of *French* Counsels,
or rather the Authority of *French* Com-
mands in the Court of *Savoy*, than that
Duke's raising a terrible Persecution against
his Loyal Subjects of the *Valleys*. It must be
own'd the Duke did not come into this
Bloody Project so chearfully as *Lewis XIV.*
expected, he was forc'd to oblige him to
it, by insisting on a Ridiculous Construc-
tion of an Article of the Offensive and De-
fensive League made between them, *That*
they were to make War upon one another's Ene-
mies without distinction. The Protestants of
the *Valleys* were interpreted to be the *French*
King's Enemies, and while he was destroy-
ing his own Subjects of their Religion, the
Duke must, by virtue of that Article, do
the same by his, which he could not avoid
without bringing on him the *French* King's
Arms. That it was wholly at the Instigati-
on of *Lewis XIV.* that he sent his Dragoons
into the *Valleys* appears from a Treatise prin-
ted in *Italy*, entitled, *Theatrum Europa a-*
peratum, in which it is said, ' His Most Chri-
stian Majesty having made some Instances
to the Duke of *Savoy*, to perswade him to
invite the Protestants of his Dominions to
the Bosom of the Catholick Church by
such Methods as he himself had made use
of to bring in those of his own Kingdom
of *France*, the Duke of *Savoy* appear'd
very much averse to it, and the rather,
because that those his Protestant Subjects
had

had done him very remarkable Service
 some Years before against the State of
 Genoa, and after against his Rebellious Subjects : But at last the French Ambassador at Turin gave in a Memorial to the Duke, by the Command of his Master, setting forth, That his Most Christian Majesty having enter'd into a solemn Alliance, Defensive and Offensive, with his Highness of Savoy, both the Friends and Enemies of the one became the Friends and Enemies of the other. Now the Inhabitants of the Valleys of Piedmont, commonly call'd the Vandois, being Hereticks, and *ipso facto*, excommunicated by the Holy Church, they are thereby not only Enemies as such to his Most Christian Majesty, and to the Duke of Savoy, but indeed to all the Catholick Princes of Christendom. And Honour, Religion, and Interest did oblige every true Catholick Prince to root out of his Territories all such Persons that are Apostates from the Holy Church. From all which his Most Christian Majesty concluded, that over and above the Obligations above mention'd, the Duke of Savoy was oblig'd by the true Meaning and Intention of the League between his Most Christian Majesty and him to root those Hereticks call'd Vandois out of his Country; and the Refusal to do it would be esteem'd by the Most Christian King as a downright Breach of the League itself, and would oblige him to pursue the Invasion of so material an Article of it with Arms.

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Notwithstanding all this, *continues our Author*, the Duke seem'd to be firm in his Resolution not to molest the *Vaudois*, till at last there was a secret Article produc'd to him, (which his Ministers that had transacted the Affair of the Alliance had been influenc'd by the Court of *France* to subscribe in a Paper apart, and it seems had kept it from the Knowledge of their Prince) by which Article the Duke of *Savoy* was to oblige the *Vaudois* to renounce their Heresy, and return to the *Catholick Church*, by such Methods, and at such Time as his Most Christian Majesty should make known to him. This secret Article and the plausible Insinuations of the *Jesuits* and others of the *French* Faction about him, (*adds our Author*) together with the ill Circumstances of the Affairs of *Europe*, necessitated the Duke of *Savoy* to comply with that unjustifiable manner of treating those Poor People of the *Valleys of Piedmont*, which has made so great a Noise in *Europe*.

Such was the Dependance of *Savoy* upon *France*. If the Duke would not lay waste the Beautiful Valleys of *Piedmont*, and fatten the Soil with the Blood of his best Subjects, he is threatned with the *French* King's Arms: And a few Years after, when the Princes of the Confederacy form'd the first Grand Alliance, the Duke of *Savoy* was in the closest League with *Lewis XIV*, but seeing so fair an opportunity offer to assert the Liberties of *Europe*, he began to reflect on the Baseness of his Vassalage, and to resolve

solve to have a Share of the Glory of delivering so many Nations from the *French Yoke*. The *French King* requir'd him to joyn him, and gave him but eight Days time to declare himself, the *Cardinal of Bouillon* representing to the Court of *Rome* that the *French King* was obliged to demand *Securities of the Duke of Savoy*, that he might not leave a *Gap open to his Enemies* on that side, at a Time when he was to bend so great a part of his Forces towards Great Britain, &c.

The manner of the *French King's* treating the *Duke of Savoy* upon the forming of the *Grand Alliance*, was communicated to a Person of Quality in a Letter from *Geneva*, dated the 9th of *June 1690*. the Contents of which were as follows: The *French King* order'd a Body of Troops under the Command of *Monsieur Catinat* to advance towards *Piedmont*, under pretence of chastising the *Vandois*, for some Outrages said to be committed by them. *Monsieur Catinat* attack'd those Protestants the beginning of *May*, but the *Vandois* gave him so warm a Reception, that he drew off his Forces, pretending to fall upon the *Milaneze*; when on a sudden he retreated, and posted himself in the Neighbourhood of *Turin*; which having done, he demanded of the *Duke of Savoy* Three Thousand Men of his Troops, to ballance the Supply he had given the *Emperor* of about a Million of *Livres*. The *Duke* answer'd, *He had bought some Fiefs of his Imperial Majesty; that 'twas a Purchase, and no Supply.* *Catinat*

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not content with this Answer, gave the Duke Eight and Forty Hours time to come to a final Resolution. His Royal Highness, finding himself so press'd, dissembled his intentions, and shew'd a Disposition to enter into a Treaty with *France*. For that purpose Couriers were sent to *Paris*, and Monsieur *Catinat* was promis'd the Troops he had demanded. That General seem'd to be satisfy'd with those Steps, and march'd once more towards the *Milaneze*. In his march he seiz'd upon the Bridge of *Carignan* on the River *Po*, left One Thousand Dragoons to guard it, and return'd again towards *Turin*, declaring to the Duke, that for the Security of his performing his Promises, and observing a strict Neutrality, his Master expected the Citadel of *Turin* to be deliver'd to him immediately, as also the Town of *Verne*. The Duke was not prepar'd to defend himself, and continuing to dissemble with *Catinat*, endeavour'd to gain Time by a Treaty. During this Negotiation, he suffer'd no time to be lost in drawing the Militia secretly together, in fortifying the Citadel of *Turin*, and the frontier Places, and furnishing them with ammunition. He dispatch'd Envoys to the Neighbouring Princes, especially to the Dyet of *Switzerland*, where his Ambassador and that of *Spain* set forth the Usurpations and Violences of the Court of *France*, in moving Terms, that it drew Tears from the Assembly, who resolv'd to acquaint the Duke of *Savoy*, that the Cantons would use their Instances with the *French* Court to order

order Monsieur *Catinat* to draw off his Troops from *Piedmont*; and if they were refus'd, they wou'd not fail to assist him to drive the *French* out of his Territories. The Courier Monsieur *Amelot*, the French Ambassador in *Switzerland*, sent to Monsieur *Catinat*, came to him some Hours sooner than the Express that was dispatch'd to his Royal Highness from the *Dyet*. *Catinat* hearing of the Resolution of the Cantons sent to Compliment the Duke, desirous a Conference with his Chancellor, and telling him he hop'd Means might be found out to accommodate Matters. The Duke having as yet no Advices from *Switzerland* of what had happen'd there in his Favour order'd the Chancellor of *Savoy* to consult with Monsieur *de Catinat* to gain Time; but the Courier his Minister sent him bringing him the Resolution of the Cantons, he recall'd his Chancellor, summon'd his Privy Council, and Council of War, communicated to them what Steps he had taken, and they resolv'd that the Treaty with the *French* General shou'd be broken off, and Monsieur *Catinat* order'd to depart the Duke's Dominions within 24 Hours, or he shou'd be attack'd as an Enemy. *Catinat*'s Army was by this time weaken'd by a Detachment he sent against the *Vandoss* in the Valleys of *Pragelas*, and by the Desertion of two *Swiss* Regiments, who being suspected he sent to *Casal*, but in their march they joyn'd the Militia of *Savoy*. The *Vandoss* beat the *French* in several Skirmishes, and retir'd to the Mountains: But hearing of

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the Duke's Intention to break with *France*, they offer'd to serve in his Army, and their Service was accepted of. The Duke being come to a Resolution to joyn the Confederates, appear'd in the great Piazza of *Turin*, and made a Speech to the People, wherein he so movingly set forth the Insolence and Injustice of the *French*, that they declar'd they were ready to Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes to defend and Revenge him, the Priests themselves offering him their Plate, saying, *They cou'd associate in Wooden Cups.* Ten Thousand Men march'd towards *Turin* from *Mondovi* and the Marquisate of *Susa*, demanding leave to Charge the *French*, and in a few Days so many appear'd in Arms for the Defence of their Country, that his Royal Highness had not Ammunition enough to supply them with. He order'd a Guard to be set on Monsieur *Rabenac*, the *French* Ambassador, and with all diligence made Preparations for War. His Ministers gave him Encouragement by their Advices from the Courts of *Italy*; and the Republick of *Venice* agreed to lend him 80000 Crowns a Month, on such Security as he offer'd to them. A Proclamation was publish'd, inviting the *Vandois*, who had quitted their Habitations, to return to them, laying all the Cruelties they had met with to the Charge of the *French*, and assuring them of Liberty of Conscience and Protection for the future. His Royal Highness sent an Envoy to King *William*, to Congratulate his Accession to the Throne, which he did in a very Eloquent

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Speech,

Speech, wherein he complimented his Majesty for deserving the Crown he wore being possess'd of all the Royal Virtues that render Princes worthy of Empire.

THAT this Part of my History may answer the Title, that of *Europe*, better than the *Second*, I shall intersperse more Foreign Transactions in it ; and having treated of the French King's Friendship with the Elector of *Bavaria* and Duke of *Savoy*, I shall in the next Place relate the Occasion of his losing the good Will of the King of *Poland*, which he had taken great Care to cultivate. In order to this he procur'd a Match between him and a French Lady not of the highest Rank, till her Marriage advanc'd her Family.

The French Court were highly offend'd at the King and Republick of *Poland*, for putting a Stop to their Negotiations with the Hungarian Rebels, of which mention is made elsewhere, and from that time the Marquis *de Vitry* employ'd all his Skill to create Misunderstandings between the King and his People : To this end *Marstein*, great *Treasurer of Poland*, was engag'd in the French Interests by a Pension, and so firmly he stuck to it, that he took Care to secure a Refuge in *France*, in case he was forc'd as he expected, to fly *Poland* : He purchas'd a considerable Estate in that Kingdom, and made so strong a Party among the Senators of *Poland*, that they talk'd of no less than obliging the King to follow the Example of

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Casimir, and abdicate his Kingdom, going so far as to Name a Successor. But *Sobinski*'s good Fortune preserv'd the Crown on his Head ; the King intercepted a Letter of *Marstein*'s writ in Cyphers. He presently sent for him, and enquir'd the meaning of the Letter : *Marstein* endeavouring to evade giving a direct answer, the King commanded him to give him the *Key* to it ; the Great Treasurer reply'd, his Wife had it ; upon which the King sent for her also. When she came and found what it was his Majesty wanted of her, she told him she had burnt the *Key*. Neither *Marstein* or his Wife chang'd their Note ; the *Key* was burnt, and they cou'd not give it him ; at which he was so enrag'd, that he commanded his Guards to seize both of them ; he could do no more to 'em. But this put him and the Senate upon a strict Inquiry into the *Marquis de Vitry*'s Conduct, which was so fully detected, that a Polish Senator said in open Dyt, That for Attempts of less Nature the Turks had given Two Hundred *Batinadoes* to an Ambassador of France, and was his Opinion Monsieur de Vitry deseru'd four Hundred. But this rath Speech of his had no Consequence ; he was silenc'd immediately, and an Order made, that what he had said should not be recorded. Tho' Monsieur de Vitry had only a Reprimand, yet he became so odious to the *Poles*, that not long after he was recall'd, having in vain done his utmost to engage that King in a War with the Emperor, flattering him with the Conquest of *Silesia*, while

the *Turks* came down upon *Hungary*, and afterwards having us'd all his Arts to embroil him with his Subjects, to hinder his entring into an Alliance with the Emperor against the Infidels ; which, in spight of all his Intrigues, *Sobieski* did, and was a main Instrument in raising the Siege of *Vienna*. Indeed he was not very eager after that Siege was rais'd in prosecuting the War. He was backward on all Occasions where the Success was to be push'd, and his Coolness then and in the following Campaign in 1684. was imputed to the Artifices and Perswasions of his Queen, who represented to him as she was instructed by the Court of *France* : That he being an *Elective Monarch*, it was impossible for him without some powerful Alliance, to obtain the Succession of the Crown for his Son : That whatever Conquests he made on the *Turks*, the *Republick of Poland*, and not he, would be the Gainers by it ; but if he wou'd abandon the Imperial Interest, and engage himself in that of *France*, he might not only by that means enrich his Family by a constant yearly Pension, but with the assistance of *French* Councils and *French* Money, secure such a Party in the *Polish* Senate, as would be strong enough to fix the Succession of the Crown in his House. To bring about this, he was flatter'd with the hope of a Marriage for his Son with a Prince of the Blood of *France*, and the Queen was offer'd a Dutchy and Peerage for her Brother, the *Marquis de Bethune*, with an *Arrrest* of the *Parliament of Paris*, that if ever

she return'd to *France*, she should be treated as a Sovereign Princess. These Temptations prevail'd on both of them, and to confirm the Offers that had been made the King and Queen, the Prince was invited to come to *Paris* to marry that Princess of the Blood ; accordingly he was sent thither *Incognito*, where they would very fain have popp'd him off with a Widow, the Princess *Dowager of Conti*, the French King's Natural Daughter by Madam *La Valiere*. When all things seem'd ready for the Accomplishment of the Project, and every body expected to have seen the Marriage concluded, the Prince was deter'd from it by the following Letter, which he found on his Pillow, written in the *Polish* Language to this purpose :

S I R,

FOrgive an unknown Friend that Loves you, and is concern'd in your Safety, to forewarn you of your inevitable Ruin, in case you break not speedily off your designed Marriage with the Princess of *Conti*. By it, if accomplish'd, your Stars combine to throw you down from all your Hopes, and to make you and the King your Father, equally the Scorn and Hate of all Europe, instead of the Advantages you can promise your self from the Alliance of that Princess, You and for ever debar your self from the hopes of obtaining the Crown of Poland : That Nation is too Brave and Noble, ever to allow one marry'd to the Spurious Blood of France, to succeed to the Throne of the Jaggolans, and instead of the

Assistance of the French Interest, for obtaining the Crown for your Family, the Jealousies of the Senate will, without doubt, proceed so far as not only to declare your self incapable of the Throne, but to dethrone your Father, who bought it, as the Reward of the Blood he lost in the Service of his Country. The Nobles are already too Jealous of the Friendship between your Father and France, and the consummating of this Marriage will for ever shut the Door against a future Reconciliation. Choose then, Sir, whether to live a Private Person, despis'd and hated by in your Arms, or by abandoning Her and the French Friendship, make way in the Hearts of the Nobles of your Country, to attain a Kingdom; either of them you may do, but both you cannot. Take this Advice while it is time, and repent not when it is too late.

Whether the Letter was thus convey'd to him from a *Pole*, or from a Friend to the House of *Austria*, it is certain it had the full effect it was design'd for, and the Match was broken off in a Moment, which was follow'd by an Indifference in both Kings to each others Interests. Some were of Opinion, this Letter was a Contrivance of the Queen of *Poland* herself, who finding what a Trick the French Court would have put upon the Prince, and being sensible of the ill Consequences of it, made use of this Method to break off a Business she had been the Occasion of bringing on, and she durst not do it more openly out of Regard to her Relations in *France*. From this time

Sobieski began to enter into closer Correspondence with the Court of Vienna, who confirm'd him in their Interests by the Marriage of the Prince with a Princess of Newburgh.

Every One had some Years ago such an Abhorrence of the French King's leaguing with the Turks against the Christians, that twas reckon'd one of the blackest Deeds he ever was guilty of, and the foulest Blot upon his Reign; but I can't think it so now. We have liv'd to see a Protestant King in a Confederacy with the Infidels, not only against Papists, but Protestants. The North was lately threaten'd with an Invasion from the Turks, with a King of Sweden at their Head, while the Swedish General was burning the rich Cities of Protestants, and laying their fair Countries waste. That the French help'd to arm the Infidels against the Muscovites and Poles, none can doubt, the French King being a fast Friend to Sweden for the Diversion that King had made in the Empire, by his Eruption into Saxony. The Swedes had for their Confederates against the King of Poland, the King of Denmark and the Czar, the Turks, the Tartars, the French, &c. 'Tis not to be question'd but all of them were influenc'd by the Councils and Example of France, who of old has been ready to league with the most Barbarous Enemies of Christendom, against such as dar'd to oppose her Boundless Ambition, and struggle for Liberty.

These Intrigues being the Works of Darkness, seldom see Light; and as they are the Subject of Secret History, should not be omitted when any opportunity offers to reveal them. The Pyrate *Barbarossa* was a French Renegade, and 'twas the French King that invited that Robber to invade Spain, promising to send a Squadron of Men of War to his Assistance. I have in a former Part of this History mention'd a Treatise publish'd in *England* in King James's Reign, discovering the Correspondence between the French King and Count Teckeli. I have since met with a little Treatise print'd at *Ratisbonne* in the Year 1683. which discloses those *Arcana*, and sets that Correspondence in a broad Light. I am conscious of my Duty, as a Loyal Subject, to the Treaties of Peace lately concluded with *France*, but I consider that as a Passive Duty only, an Obedience I owe to my Sovereign, to whose Pleasure every good *Briton* resigns himself with Joy, in Gratitude for the great Things she has done for us. No farther than this can I have the least Deference for the French. I cannot help having a Detestation for their Politicks, an Abhorrence of their Cruelty, a Jealousy of their Power, and Suspicion of their Deceit. I cannot help hating them, as our Forefathers did, and, as far as consists with Peace, to wish 'em all the Ill that a Nation deserves from us, who, since the Sale of *Dunkirk*, have bent all their Cunning to divide, and all their Strength to destroy us.

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Had the Intrigues they carry'd on with the *Infidels* succeeded, the Empire had been in a worse Condition than it is at present; *France* had been Mistress of *Europe*, and when *France* is Mistress, 'tis not hard to fortell who must be our Master. At the same time that those fatal Intrigues were on foot, she rais'd the Blockade of *Luxembourg*, and complimented the Emperor *Leopold*, that she did it not to give a Diversion to the Forces of the House of *Austria*, whose Capital was soon after surrounded with an Army of 150000 *Turks*: But we shall see presently who it was that all the while animated the *Hungarians* in their Rebellion, and spirited and supported them. This was not a Matter that could be asserted with the same Assurance as we do those Facts which are done in the Face of the Sun; but Time, the Revealer of all Things, has now discover'd it with the same Certainty as we know any other Events of History.

In the Year 1682. when the *Marquis de Vitry* was Ambassador from *France* in *Poland*, *Monsieur du Vernay Boucauld*, a *French* Gentleman, who was then there without any Publick Character, manag'd the Affair with the *Hungarian* Rebels, to rise against their Sovereign, and call the *Infidels* into *Hungary*. The Person who carry'd on this Correspondence with him, was *Akakia*, one of their Chiefs. One hundred thousand Florins were remitted to *Dantzick* for this use, and paid by *Monsieur Fromont* a Banker there at one time, at another the *Sieur du Vernay* paid Eleven thousand three hundred

Ducats

Ducats to *Nemessan*, one of *Teckely's* Agents, to oblige the Malcontent to take Arms, and attack the strong Fortress of *Zamvar*. The Ministry in *Poland* having Intimation of these Transactions, represented to the Marquis *de Vitry* the ill Consequences of them to their Master's and the Republick's Interest, and forbid any such Clandestine Practices. Monsieur *de Vitry* offer'd to produce his Book of Accompts, to justify he had paid no Money to the *Hungarians*, as if that was an Article which was not to come under the General Head of *Secret Services*. The *Poles* were generally well inclin'd to the Emperor, and tho' the French Queen of *Poland* did her utmost to keep her Husband in the Interests of *France*, the Republick was always against any Measures that favour'd the *Infidels*. Monsieur *du Vernay* had several under Agents, one of whom was surpriz'd by the Princess of *Radzivilliana* in her Territories of *Sacolia*, bordering upon *Transilvania*, imprison'd in her Castle, loaden with Irons, and severely punish'd as a Spy, tho' his Life was spar'd for the sake of his Master, whom they were afraid to irritate. The Sieur *du Vernay* kept for the most part on the Frontiers of *Hungary* and *Transilvania*, and had frequent Conferences with *Namessan* and *Faigel*, two of *Teckely's* Confidents. By their Intelligence the French knew how Affairs were manag'd at the Port, had quick Advices from thence, and could send them home sooner than by any other Conveyance. The Imperial Ambassador, Monsieur *Zierowski*, having Information of these

these Conferences, desir'd the King of *Poland* not to suffer any *Frenchman*, not being an Ambassador, or bearing some other Employment, to stay in his Dominions. He presented a Memorial to his *Polish* Majesty at *favoravia* the 6th of *October*, 1682. to inform him of some Letters he had intercepted from the *Hungarian* Lords to *du Vernay*, and from *du Vernay* to them, upon which *Monsieur de Vitry* was told, 'Twas his Majesty's Pleasure that he shou'd order *Akakia* and *du Vernay* to leave his Kingdom. The Senate also gave Directions that he should be inform'd, ' The *Poles* would not connive at their raising any Disturbances against the Emperor in *Hungary*: That they knew the *French* had stirr'd up the Troubles there: That they had sent great Sums of Money to the Malecontents, and that the *Sieur du Vernay* carry'd on a Correspondence with them.

The *French* Ambassador *Vitry* refus'd to order *du Vernay* to leave the Kingdom, declaring openly, That his Master the Most Christian King had sent him with him into *Poland* to manage his Affairs. He deny'd his having any Commerce with the *Hungarians* or *Turks*, boasted of the *French* King's quitting the Blockade of *Luxemburgh*, to give the House of *Austria* an opportunity to strengthen themselves against the Infidels, which render'd it incredible, that he would take any step in their Favour. However, he promis'd that the *Sieur du Vernay* should remove from the Frontiers, and reside at some distance. When that *Frenchman* heard he

he was discover'd, he in a Fright fled to a Convent for Protection. Some time after, the Emperor's Ambassador had Information, that more Money had been remitted to Dantzick from France, for the use of the Hungarian Malecontents. Upon which he demanded another Audience of the King of Poland, which was given him in Presence of the Marquis de Vitry and the whole Senate. He made a long Speech on the same Subject, saying, The Sieur du Vernay had only chang'd the Place of his Residence and not his Conduct. He produc'd Evidence of 100000 Florins having been lately paid at Dantzick to the Agent of the Hungarian Rebels, by the same Frenchman Monsieur Fromont, and intreated his Majesty to drive such an Incendiary and Spy out of his Dominions; adding, if the Poles did not give his Master Satisfaction in this Point, he should be oblig'd to make known to all Europe, that it was by means of French Practices in Poland that the Troubles in Hungary and the Irruption of the Turks happen'd. His Speech was so convincing, that the Poles again press'd the French Ambassador to oblige the Sieur du Vernay to depart Poland, the Polish Ministers telling him plainly, in the Name of the King and Senate, that they wou'd be no longer satisfy'd with the vain Pretences he alledg'd to detain him. The Marquis de Vitry having now no other Refuge, declar'd, That Monsieur du Vernay Boucauld was Joynt-Ambassador with him from the King of France, and he could not oblige him to leave Poland,

land, nor they urge his departure, without occasioning a Breach between the Two Kingdoms. This so frightened the *Poles*, that notwithstanding there were such substantial Proofs of *du Vernay's* Clandestine Negotiations with the *Turks* and *Hungarians*, they did no more insist on his leaving the Kingdom: On the contrary, they promis'd the *French Ambassador*, that as his *Colleague* he should have all Liberty to act for his Master. But tho' the King and Senate were afraid to send away this *French Spy*, there were several *Polish Lords* that watch'd him narrowly, particularly the *Castellan of Premislaw*, who understanding the Sieur *du Vernay* was about to pass thro' his Village of *Nimirovia*, in his way to meet some of his *Turkish* and *Hungarian* Correspondents, deny'd him Passage thro' his Country, opposing him by Arms when he pretended to pass by Force. The *Marquis de Vitry* was highly incens'd at this Affront, and complain'd of it immediately to the King, demanding the Imprisonment of the *Castellan*; which Demand put his Majesty into a Passion, it being so contrary to the Liberties of the *Poles*, that he told the *Marquis* in a Heat, 'twas in vain for him to shelter the Sieur *du Vernay* under the Character of an *Ambassador*; that his Devices with the *Hungarians* and *Turks* were well known, as were his Conferences with *Akakia*, and the Sums of Money he had supply'd the *Hungarians* with, to arm them against their Sovereign the *Emperor*, and invite the Infidels into *Hungary*. The Ambassador

bassador denying all this, with a Front not to be met with in any one but a Frenchman, the King, who continu'd in a Passion, would not hear him, and told him, He wou'd lay Ten Thousand Pistoles with him, he wou'd prove every word he said to be true. *Du Vernay* being stopt at *Nimirovia*, and the Messengers that were sent to him and from him search'd, the following Letters were found about them, from *Du Vernay* to *Tockely*, and from *Tockely* and *Faygel*, *Tockely's* Creature and Governor of *Cassovia*, to *Du Vernay*, which the Imperial Ambassador receiving from the *Castellan* of *Premislaw*, sent to his Master, after he had shewn them to the King of *Poland*. The Fellow who brought the Letters from *Tockely* and *Faygel*, was call'd *Kelemeschi*, and the *Castellan* seizing him, the King could no longer avoid complying with the Emperor's Ambassador's Demand, to have *Du Vernay* order'd to leave the Kingdom. Accordingly his Majesty sent Word to the *Marquis de Vitry* to cause the *Sieur du Vernay* to depart immediately out of *Poland*, for he was weary of hearing daily of his wicked Designs; and they being prov'd upon him beyond all manner of Question, the French Ambassador was at last forc'd to send him to *Transilvania*, where it is not to be doubted he continu'd his Machinations with as much Success as he had done in *Poland*. The Letters must needs be very entertaining to the Curious, and I shall therefore give a Translation of them, the Originals being in *Latin*.

A

A Letter from the Sieur du Vernay Bou-
auld, the French King's Minister in Poland,
to Count Teckely.

To the most illustrious Count Emerick Tecke-
ly, Lord of Kesmark, and Arme Gene-
ral of the Hungarian Army that fights
for its Country.

My Lord,

I Receiv'd, with great Joy, the Letters
you did me the Honour to write to
me from the Camp before Filleck, en-
clos'd in the Packets of our Ambassador
at Constantinople; nevertheless, I was a
little surpriz'd that you should seal them
before he had seen them. I wonder also
you said nothing about the Siege of Filleck,
however I doubt not but that Place is by
this time in your Power. Monsieur Jay-
gel, I believe, knows by my last Letters,
that I have several times endeavour'd to
send him what I promis'd, and let him
have what I have receiv'd, but I always
wanted an Opportunity. When you send
any of your People to me, order them not
to come to my House but at Night, to
the end we may do our Business without
any Body's Knowledge. But what I most
earnestly desire, is, that above all things
they take care not to follow the Road
that goes from Javoravia to Nimirowia;
for here are several Polish Gentlemen who
by the most Serene King of Poland's Or-
ders, search, visit and detain all Strangers
that

that pass. The safest way, in my Opinion is, that they leave Premislaw and Torisavia on the Right Hand, and follow the Road that leads to Sandinovia, least they be seen to enter Nimirovia, where I am surrounded with Spies. I recommend the enclos'd to you, and desire you to send them according to their Directions, by the first Opportunity. I will take the same Care in all Things you shall be pleased to command me. I am most cordially,

My L O R D,

Nimirovia, Your Lordship's most
Sept. 22. 1682. Zealous Servant

Du Vernay Boucauld.

A Letter from Count Teckely to Monsieur du Vernay.

To the most illustrious Monsieur du Vernay Boucauld, Ambassador Extraordinary of the Most Christian King.

S I R,

I Doubt not but you have kindly receiv'd Monsieur Nemessani, my Envoy. He has always been faithful to me, and always true to my Interest. The Recommendations you gave him, touching the Affairs he confer'd with you about, will, without doubt, be of as great importance with

with the Most Christian King. I am oblig'd to you for all you have done for him, and shall acknowledge it as occasion serves. It is time I should inform you of the present Circumstances of my Affairs.

After I had taken *Csorvá*, and enter'd some Forts about it, I went with the Bassaw of *Buda*'s Troops to attack the famous Fort of *Filleck*. The Inhabitants refus'd at the first to put themselves under my Protection, but after a Fortnight's Siege, they came to beg I would admit them to Capitulate. I granted them what they ask'd, which was, That the Garrison and what other People there were therein, should go out, carrying with them as much as they could upon their Backs. Then I raz'd the Fort in sight of the Imperial Army, which was hard by in the Mountains. As I am now inform'd it is march'd away, and having sack'd the Town of *Viszváros*, and other Places, retires very hastily. I design to follow the Imperialists, and drive them far off, to restore my Country to its former Liberty. At length the Emperor will be forc'd to yield what we beg as a Favour. Heaven has commiserated my Fortune, indeed, somewhat late, but I also hope it will draw on a greater and more speedy Vengeance. Sir, I will take Care to inform you of my other Affairs. However,

' I desire you always to stand my Friend.
' I am,

S I R,

At the Camp before Filleck, Sept.
18. 1682. *Always ready to serve you,*
Emerick Teckely.

A Letter from Monsieur Peter Jagel,
Governour of Cassovia, to Monsieur du
Vernay.

To the most Illustrious Lord Monsieur du
Vernay Boucauld, Ambassador Extra-
ordinary from the Most Christian King.

S I R,

' LAST Wednesday we took and rais'd
' Filleck, where above a thousand Ja-
' nissaries were slain. Afterwards the Vi-
' zier made all the Hungarians that were
' present, and under the Prince of Transil-
' vania's Dominion, be brought before our
' Illustrious Count. Then all the Estates of
' the Upper Hungary being assembled, Mon-
' sieur Teckely was proclaim'd King, and
' confirm'd in that Quality by the Grand
' Signior, who sent him from the Port
' Hat, instead of a Crown, with a Stand-
' ard and Scepter. After the Ceremony
' the Count very modestly refus'd the
' Title of King. He is satisfy'd with that
' of Prince and Regent of Hungary; his
' Titles are, *Emericus Thokolius Princeps
et Regni Hungaria Dominus*. After this
' Election

Election the Vizier gave him the best Troops, to pursue at the Head of the Army those of the Imperialists. *Caprara* having deserted the Mountains, pillag'd the Towns, and abandon'd the Forts *Vigles* and *Zolian*, is at last retir'd, and has taken his Way towards *Threnezan*. Sir, we had done something more, but we have not receiv'd what you promis'd us, and without that Supply we are forc'd to proceed slowly in our Business. Monsieur *Nemessan* is gone to treat of Affairs at the King of *France's* Court. He needs your Instruction. We have order'd him in all Things to act to your Honour. We will suddenly send you an Express. I beg you, for God's sake, to make him up as large a Sum as you can. I always remain, as I ought,

S. I. R,

Callovia, Sept.

22. 1682. Your most oblig'd Servant,

Peter Jaigel.

There is another Letter from *du Vernay* to *Tockely*, with this Superscription, *Illus-
trissimo Domino Comiti, Emerico Thokelio,
Hereditario in Kesmark, & Arva Exercitus
Hungarici pro Patria Militantis, Generali,
Domino & Amico mibi Confidentissimo Obser-
vandissimo.* 'Tis dated at *Nimirovia* the 22d of September, 1682. but being written most in Cyphers, one can make little or nothing of it, more than Expressions of

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Zeal

Zeal and Services. I think no further Proofs are wanting to clear this Matter, and by this it appears as plain as Demonstration, that 'twas by the Machinations of *France*, that the *Hungarians* rebell'd against the Emperor, and the Infidels invaded *Germany* with an Army, which, had it succeeded, would have put an end to the *Christian* Name in the Empire, if not in all *Europe*, and all over the World. The *French* had another Correspondence with *Teckely* by the help of one *Bohan* of *Ardenne*, a Lieutenant of Horse in the *French* Army, which he left to serve the King of *Poland*, but being reform'd upon the Peace made between the *Port* and that Republick, he put himself into the Service of Count *Teckely*, by whom he was advanc'd. About the Year 1680. he wen from *Hungary* to *Paris*, discours'd the Ministers, and settled a Correspondence with them. Upon his Return to *Hungary* he engages *Teckely* to give the Imperialists a Diversion in that Kingdom, to which end he procur'd him great Supplies of Money, and promises of far greater. The Letters that were sent to *Bohan* were first directed to the Secretary of the *French* Envoy in *Germany*, and by him forwarded to *Bohan* in *Hungary*. The Secretary was taken up and imprison'd on the Discovery of this Intrigue, upon which the Secretary of Coun *Mansfield* at *Paris* was apprehended by way of Reprisal, and commited to the *Bastille*. The *French* Court threatening to do the same by him, as the Imperialists did by their Secretary, tho' he had in so notoriou

a manner violated the Law of Nations. The Emperor out of Consideration for Count Mansfield's Secretary, stop'd Proceedings against the French-Man, and rather chose to forgive the Guilty than destroy the Innocent; yet to shew the World how sensible he was of the Injury, he did not suffer the French Secretary to be discharg'd till he came to Brifac, whither, for the greater Marks of Infamy, he was brought in a Cart loaden with Irons, and under a strong Guard. The German Secretary in the *Bastile* having no Crime laid to his Charge, the French Court were alham'd to put him upon a level with a Spy, and the Life of their Secretary being fav'd, they gave Count Mansfield's his Liberty. This good Harmony and Friendship between the French Court and the Hungarians in their Design to weaken the Emperor, and embroil the Empire, continu'd many Years, for when Count Teckley's Baggage was taken by the Imperialists in Upper Hungary, in the Year 1688. there was found a Copy of the following Letter, translated, among several others, into Italian, and printed at Venice and Rome, from which Translation this English Version was taken.

To Mahomet IV. the most Serene Emperor of the Turks,

IT has been ever our Design and Ambition to promote the Interest of our Friends and Allies, in as far as it is possible, especially

cially your Highness's, our constant Friend and Confederate, whose Interest we will always espouse as our own. We have commanded our Trusty Servant, our Ambassador at the Port, to acquaint your Highness, as from us, of certain, great, and weighty Matters that concern your Greatness, with respect to your Kingdom of Hungary, and the Prejudices done you by Leopold, Emperor of the Germans. Be pleased to give entire Confidence to our said Servant, and lay your Account with our assisting you in what may contribute to the Glory of your Arms against our Common Enemy. God have your Highness in his Protection,

Your Highness's

Good Friend, Ancient Ally,

And Confederate,

From our Royal Palace
of Versailles, in the
Kingdom of France,
April 3. 1681.

L E W I S

The Events in *Hungary* in the following Years, the War of almost 20 Years continuance between the Emperor and the Sultan, shew plainly enough what was the Consequence of this Confederacy. When the Siege of *Vienna* was rais'd, how the Court of *Versailles* was troubled may be seen by what an Author of good Credit wrote upon it, whose Words will have more Authority

thority with the Reader than any thing of mine can pretend to. ' Not many Years ago, says he, the glorious Action of raising the Important Siege of *Vienna* was so ill relish'd at the *French* Court, that it durst not be mentioned in any of their News Books, for several Weeks after the *Courier* came with an Express of it from *Germany*; yea, *Lewis XIV.* was known to be so greatly desirous of the falling of the Imperial Seat into the Hands of the *Turks*, that his greatest Favourites refus'd the ungrateful Office of telling him the ill News of its being reliev'd, and were necessitated to use a Stratagem to make him acquainted with it.' The *Veneriam* Ambassador at *Paris* charg'd Monsieur *de Croisic*, Minister and Favourite to *Lewis XIV.* with a League between him and the *Ottomans*, to make War jointly against *Germany*, which occasion'd a Quarrel between those two Ministers in the Year 1690. the *Frenchman* denying it, tho', says my Author, all Europe are sufficiently acquainted with it. Not long after a fuller Discovery of that League was made in *Hungary*, and by this means. The Court of *France* was very Liberal of their Money at *Constantinople*, and of their Promises to fall in upon the Empire with a powerful Army. Upon a Dispatch from their Ambassador at the *Port* about the Year 1689. it was resolv'd to send a considerable Number of their best Ingineers to the Assistance of the *Turks*, especially of those that had serv'd among the Auxiliaries of that Crown against the *Mahometans* at the

Battel of Raab in the former War of Hungary, as being the best acquainted with the German Method of besieging and defending Towns. The Persons agreed upon told Monsieur Louvois, they humbly intreated him to consider, How far they might ensnare their Consciences, in personally fighting with and assisting the Common Enemy of the Christian Religion, against those that were of their own Communion; and they instanc'd in one case, in which they conceiv'd it was impossible for them to avoid a mortal Sin, in assisting the Turks to be Masters of Christian Churches, which they knew would be immediately therupon converted into Mahometan Mosques. The Court was mightily incens'd against the Promoters of this needless Scruple, as they call'd it; and Monsieur Dadier, a Favourite of the Dauphin, lost his Favour for it. However, to remove it, there met at Monsieur Louvois's that Minister, the Archbishop of Paris, Father La Chaise, and about Ten more Divines, who being all perfectly well instructed in the Court Divinity of France, declar'd, That tho' it be unlawful in a general Sense to assist at, concur with, or promote the converting a Christian Church into a Mahometan Mosque, which is confess'd must be the Fate of most, if not all the Churches that fall into the Hands of the Turks; yet there is no Sin to enable or assist the Turks so to do, in case the Persons that so assists or enables them, does it not for want of Love to the Christian Religion, but merely as in Obedience to the Commands of his King, who enjoyns him to strengthen by all possible means the Turks.

Part III. of EUROPE.

249

Turks his Allies, and to weaken the Emperor and his Subjects, that are his declared Enemies. This Case of Conscience being thus determin'd by these Court-Casuists, the Divines set their Hands to it, a Copy of which was attested by an Apostolick Notary, and several Copies so attested deliver'd to the Persons employ'd in that Service for the further Ease of their Consciences. From which we may very well conclude, that we are not impos'd upon when we are told of several French Officers and Engineers having been taken in Hungary in the Habit of Turks.

These Intrigues with the Infidels were detested even in those Reigns which were the most favorable to France of any that have been in England, I mean those of King Charles and King James, and how much of the Horror of 'em is worn off since, in Reigns that have been in perpetual War with her? I can impute it to nothing but that Custom and Example having made it familiar, such Politicks were no more wonder'd at; and we having seen, as has been before hinted, a Protestant Prince Confederating with the Turk even in his own Court, cannot for the future have the same Abhorrence for a Popish Prince that should enter in the same Alliance.

I have already observ'd the Inconvenience I have lain under in collecting Memoirs, by not coming at them in due order of Time, which makes me skip from one *Era* to another with too much Precipitation; but no such Memoirs as these having been regularly

larly collected; or being easy to be met with, I was oblig'd to take them as my Industry and good Fortune threw them in my way; and this Disorder will perhaps not make the Confusion it wou'd do in a Regular History, the Nations I treat of being different, and the Periods must consequently be so too.

Having mention'd some of the Intrigues of the French Court with the Turks and Hungarians, to embroil the Empire, and make way for their mastering it, I shall now inquire into another such Correspondence of theirs, on another side of it nearer their own Dominions, by which they made an Acquisition that has strengthen'd France more than any she has annex'd to her Crown since the Treaty of Munster, I mean their Bargain of Strasburgh, which they bought in the Year 1682. For this purpose they had a Resident at Strasburgh, who serv'd the Character of a Spy more than that of a Minister. This Man observ'd what pass'd, and from Time to Time gave the Court an account of it, intimating, that no good could be done while the Burgomasters of that Town, who were then in Place, held their Stations. He was therefore order'd to spare for no Cost or Pains to gain Votes at every new Election, and by this means he got Persons chosen who were well affected to the Interests of France, wanting nothing but a Price, they being prepar'd to sell their Country, as those that chose 'em were to sell their Votes. With these new Burgomasters he struck up a Bargain for

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the Delivery of the Town at the first opportunity, for which they were to have 100000 Crowns a Man. To make way for it, these Traytors represented to the Citizens the vast Debts their Wars had burthen'd them with, and that in Time of Peace they should reduce their Garrison, the King of *France*, whom they had most Cause to fear, having his whole Thoughts bent upon *Italy*, whither he had drawn the best part of his Forces, and before he could march them back again, they wou'd have time enough to implore the Assistance of their Neighbours, whose Concern in their Preservation would oblige them to give it, when ask'd of 'em: But supposing the worst, they had the Winter before them, and the *French* could not possibly do them any Mischief till next Year, during which Time they might save a good deal of Money, and consult about what other Measures were to be taken.

Nothing takes so with the People as a Shew of Oeconomy and Frugality. Generals are as great Misers as Particulars, and there is nothing so Vile and Infamous which the greatest Nations have not done to save Money: The *Romans* call'd *Scipio* to Account for the Money he had spent to relieve them from a Foreign Yoke A little Treasure not laid out according to their Judgment, tho wholly unacquainted with Emergencies, is enough for the People to Charge the most Illustrious Heroes with Embezzlement, and a Frugal Offer sufficient for them to entrust the

the most designing Treacherous Men among them. *The People of Scrasburgh*, says my Author, were all for the sparing Point; and notwithstanding this Advice was oppos'd by the ablest Magistrates, 'twas resolv'd to disband part of their Garrison: Those that had the Charge of it taking Care to dismiss their *Swiss Guards*, and those Soldiers that had been of the longest Standing, and were most likely to do Service. As soon as this was done, the Court of *France*, who were all the while on the watch, orders an Army to draw down to *Strasburgh*, and to invest that City. Some playing of the Artillery there was on both sides, to take off all Suspicion of Intelligence, which hinder'd not but the Citizens found they were betray'd; and tho' they found it too late, yet many of them were for making a vigorous Defence. But the Rabble, who were gain'd by the *French Envoy's Money*, ran to the Town-house, where the Magistrates were debating on this Important Point, and cry'd out *Surrender, Surrender, or the City will be consum'd by the Bombs and red hot Bullets*. The Burgomasters who were bought by the *French* having a Majority, soon listen'd to their Cry, caus'd a Parley to be beat, and hung out a White Flag; which was follow'd with a quick Treaty, and the yielding up the Key of the Empire to *Monsieur de Lanois*, who came in Person to take possession of so fine a Purchase, than which no Man ever made a better for his Master.

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The Treaty of Nimegen had not been made above Three or Four Years when this happen'd ; the Emperor presently sent Count Mansfield to complain of the Breach of it. The Answer that was given shows the high Tone that was then in use at the Court of France : That they much wonder'd the Emperor would concern himself where he had nothing to do : That 'twas but lawful for the King to reduce a Rebellious City : That Strasburgh belong'd to him, as the Capital of Alsace, and if he did not possess himself of it sooner, it was because he had more pressing Work in Hand. This was quite different from the Manner of France's dealing with that City, from the Time of the Munster Treaty to that of Monsieur Louvois's taking possession of it. If Strasburgh had been granted her by that Treaty, why did she so long entertain Publick Ministers there ? Why treat with her for a Neutrality in the War of 1673 ? And why so often complain of her breaking it ? Never had she been look'd upon as Rebellious, till a French Garrison was within her Walls ready to prove her so.

The Citizens, who sold their City, were not such abandon'd Traytors, but they pretended to make a pretty good Bargain for their Fellow Citizens. The French Purchasers offer'd besides so many hundred thousand Lewis d'Ors, that Lewis XIV. should be their Protector ; that they should receive a French Garrison, but a very small one, and which should swear Obedience to the Magistrates, to be chosen by the Citizens ; that they should

should be fully possest of all the Privileges and Immunities they had enjoy'd in Time before, and that they should not go without their own City for Justice, nor answer to any Court of Judicatory in France. That the Protestants should not be in the least abridged in the Exercise of their Religion, nor the Roman Catholicks pretend to any more Liberty than before.

All which Articles were thus faithfully executed, to use the Words of my Author. ' The French King crowded the Place with Troops. He appointed the Magistrates himself. They were refer'd to the Judicatories of France for Justice. The Protestants were sent to the Gallies. They have been ever since in a State of War, and their Trade is entirely ruin'd by Taxes. In a Word, their Lives, their Laws, their Constitution, their Privileges, their Estates, and the Publick Patrimony of their City have run the same Fate with the rest of that King's Subjects.' Before this Strasburgh was an Imperial Free City, the greatest in Germany, the best situated for Trade of the Inland Towns of the Empire, and was for Strength and Power esteem'd the chief Bulwark of Germany against France. A Truce between the Emperor and the French King had been then lately ratify'd, and by this means did he possess himself of a City which his detaining of occasions now the continuing of the War in the Empire. By the Articles of the Hague in 1709. it was to be restor'd, and since these Articles has France been beaten

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in a Battle, and lost seven or eight of her best Towns: But the Confederates did not in the last Peace think fit to stop the Treaty for the sake of this Bulwark of *Germany*. Their Reasons for their not doing it, and for their being Spectators only of the War between the Emperor and the *French King* are properer for the Speculations of Statesmen, than that of Historians, and to them I shall accordingly leave it.

I have in the former Parts observ'd what was the Conduct of *France* with respect to the *Turks* and *Hungarian* Malecontents, how she caball'd with them to find the Emperor Work enough on one side, while on the other she surpriz'd the most important Fortress of the Empire, I shall now examine a little further into her Conduct, with respect to other Princes and Powers, from the Peace of *Nimeguen*, to the Reign of King *James II. of England*, at which time having no fear from *Great Britain*, *Lewis XIV.* acted like the Master of *Europe*, like a Prince who seem'd to expect that his Pleasure should be as much a Law to all his Contemporary Princes, as it was to his own Subjects; and in examining this Matter the Reader will doubtless take Notice what a strong tye the Treaty of *Nimeguen* was upon him. The next Treaty was that of *Ryswick*, and how *France* behav'd herself after that, is fresh in our Memories, and will deserve Animadversion in its due Place, as may also her Observance of that of the late one of *Utrecht*, which, 'tis to be hop'd, will be more strict; not for any Change in that Monarch's

Monarch's Principles but from the Power and Disposition of our Sovereign to oblige him to it.

We have elsewhere in this History related the Aversion of the Prince of Orange to the conclusion of the Peace of Nimeguen and shall therefore only hint here that the French fearing the Influence his Highness might have over the Dutch, try'd to divide their Councils and apply'd particularly to Amsterdam, whose Deputy, Monsieur Offic, had the Confidence to tell the Prince in the Assembly of the States General They would carry on the War with all their Hearts, if his Highness would help them to the Money, but that the Province of Holland, & least the City of Amsterdam, would not give a Stiver more to it, which was enough to let the Prince see, that there must be an end to the War, let the Terms be what they would. For what could the States General do without the Province of Holland? What the Province of Holland without the City of Amsterdam? Which City pays two Fifth of the Taxes of the whole Province, as Holland pays almost half of the Subsidie charg'd upon the Seven Provinces, where fore it has been the Policy of such a would bring the Dutch into their Measures always to engage a Party at Amsterdam. An Author who wrote in the worst of Times, tells us, ' The Dutch suffering themselves to be thus over-reach'd by those Glossy Appearances, sign'd clear fully to Peace apart, seeing their Allies remain'd obstinate in pursuing the War

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The Emperor and the *Spaniard* finding their strongest Resource had thus aban- don'd them, accepted of the Peace on their side too.' The Elector of *Brandenburgh* still stood out, but the Power of *France* was not to be resisted by a Prince of the Empire, whose Head and Body were not of themselves strong enough to make a Resistance, and the *French* King oblig'd that Elector to accept of such a Peace as he was pleas'd to give him.

After the *Triple League* was form'd, *Lewis XIV*, to be reveng'd of the *Swede*, engag'd that Elector and the King of *Denmark* in his Interests, promising to furnish the King of *Denmark* with Ships and Money to recover not only some Provinces the *Swedes* had taken from him, but also the free City of *Lubeck*. *Brandenburgh* was tempted with an Offer of the *Swedish Pomerania*, which that Elector was forc'd to restore to *Sweden* by the *Peace*. The King of *Denmark* receiv'd a Pension from *France*, as the *Swede* had done before him, with respect to which I find this Story related. Mr. *Colbert*, who manag'd the Affair of the Foreign Pensions, being willing to see if any thing could be sav'd out of that of the *Danes*, caus'd his Brother Mr. *Colbert de Croissy*, Secretary for Foreign Dispatches, to write to the *French Ambassador* at *Copenhagen* to acquaint the King, that his Master could not continue the Pension as it had been for some time paid. His *Danish* Majesty was very much surpriz'd at this retrenching the Pen-
sion, he having given the Most Christian King

King entire Satisfaction in his Conduct. The King of *Denmark* reply'd he would return an Answer by his own Minister at the *French* Court, who had Instructions sent him to remonstrate warmly on this unwelcome Proposal. The King of *France* finding the *Dane* stiff in the Point of Pension seem'd not to understand what the *Danish* Envoy meant by it, and resolving not to break with the King of *Denmark* for a Trifle, declar'd he never had it in his Thoughts to add or diminish any thing in the Treaty he had made with his Brother of *Denmark*, and that his Ambassador had exceeded his Orders, and should be recall'd, which was done accordingly, *France* disowning him to preserve her Friendship with his *Danish* Majesty.

'Twas this Northern Alliance which made *Lewis* XIV. so easy under that between *England*, *Holland* and *Sweden*, and having no Cares on him upon that Account, he set himself to make use of the Glorious Peace he had Extorted from the Allies to extend his Empire and encrease his Power.

The Form of Right which the Court of *France* us'd to encroach on their Neighbour's Territories, shews they will never want a Pretence to seize them when they are strong enough to do it. The Inclination of the Court to make those Encroachments being very well known, those who were like to get most by it, took care to supply them with Arguments, such as they were, to set the Design on foot. *Metz* is in the Neighbour-

bourhood of *Germany*, and having a Sovereign Court, the Lawyers there thought it would be a very good Market for them if they could get the Cognizance of the King's Claims on his Neighbours. And the Sollicitor General of that Court having drawn up a Memorial of all that ever was within its Limits and Jurisdiction sent it to Monsieur *de Louvres*, who lik'd it mightily, finding several new Tracts of Land, which his Master had a Right to the Sovereignty of, as annex'd to the Bishoprick of *Metz*, if the Sollicitor's Records spoke Truth, and whether they did or not, was no matter.

Before I proceed further in this new Upsilonation of *France*, it will not be improper to tell the Reader how it was she became possess'd of the Bishoprick of *Metz* because in that Possession she founded her Right to so great Tracts of Country in *Germany*. *Metz* was under the Dominion of the House of *Bulloign*, till *Godfrey* their Prince being about his Expedition into the *Holy-Land*, sold the Sovereignty to the Citizens for 100000 Crowns. Thus was this a Free City till the Year 1551, and as most Free Cities of *Germany* were favourable to the *Reformers*, the Inhabitants of *Metz* were for the most part of that Religion, which the Emperor *Charles I.* at that Time persecuted; and *France*, always ready to take hold of any Opportunity to embarrass the Empire, held Correspondence with the Protestant Princes, encouraging them to defend themselves, and promising Assistance. In order to this, he demanded Pas-

sage of the Citizens of Metz for the Troops he intended to send to Germany. The Inhabitants were glad he was so well inclin'd to the German Protestants, and freely offer'd Passage to the Army that was to march thro' their City in their way to the Empire. The number of Troops that were sent, and the Captain who led them, no less a Man than the Constable *de Montmerency* might have alarm'd them, but they were so full of Joy, there was no room for Jealousy, and when the French Soldiers march'd into the City, the Citizens had Table ready spread in the Streets to entertain them with Meat and Drink on their march. They reckon'd them as their best Friends and the Defenders of their Brethren. The Magistrates with all possible Marks of Honour and Distinction paid their Respect to the *Constable*, who being enter'd into the Town, feign'd himself sick of the Gout and to have intollerable Pains. He affected so much Illness, that he express'd himself apprehensive he should never get over the Fit, and desir'd to have his Will made seeing he was in so dangerous a Condition and about to commence so hazardous War. He intreated the Magistrates and all the Nobility to assist as Witnesses to it. In the mean time he had given Orders to two Collonels to seize one of them on the Gate by which the Troops enter'd, and the other on that by which they went out. He commanded the former to cause part of the Army which was still without to advance and the latter to order those who were march'd

march'd out to return. The *Constable* seeing the Magistrates and chief Nobility round his Bed, on a sudden pretended to fly out into a violent Passion, started up, and sheath'd his Dagger in the Mayor's Breast, which being the Signal for the rest to fall on, his Guards rush'd in and assassinat'd all the Nobility they met in his Chamber; upon this the Army that was got into the Place cry'd out, *The Town is ours*, and it was immediately plunder'd by these inhospitable Guests. Such was the *French* King, *Henry* the Second's, Right to the City and Bishoprick of *Metz*, which he convey'd down to his Successors, and it was this Right that the Court of *France* built their Claims upon in the Chamber of *Re-union* erected there: For their Ministers approving of the Sollicitor's Draught, he was sent for to *Versailles*, to make out what he said, there being a pretty parcel of Territory, the Dutchy of *Deuxponts*, within his pretended Limits; and the *French* King had a great Mind to it out of Resentment to the King of *Sweden*, who was Heir to that Dutchy, the ancient Patrimony of his Family.

Monsieur *de Louvois* and the Ministers were very fond of the Sollicitor's Scheme, and he was order'd diligently to inspect all the Records of that Bishoprick, where-ever they were lodg'd, which Orders he punctually obey'd when he return'd to *Metz*, and not only search'd the Publick Registers, but the Archives of all Churches and Convents, as he was impower'd to do by his Commission,

tion, that he might remove whatever made against the *Project*, and collect whatever made for it. Indeed he swept all away without taking any Inventory, and now he had room enough for his Invention to work, and might make his Authorities as Authentick as he pleas'd, having them all in his own Custody. Upon this foot he drew up a new Plan, and return'd with it to Court. Mr. *de Louvois*, when he had read it, could not forbear laughing, and ask'd the Sollicitor how he came by all those Discoveries: The Lawyer was in hopes that having made his Draught so favourable to the Court Designs, no such Questions would be put to him, and that the Ministers would have taken it for granted; but to please Mr. *de Louvois*, and satisfy his affected Scruples, he shews him a Paper with the Dates of all the true and false Deeds, which he might have as well counterfeited as the Contents of them; but Mr. *de Louvois* did not think fit to extend his Scruples any further for fear of spoiling the *Project*. That Minister therefore promis'd him to give his Memorial another Reading at more leisure, by which he seem'd to be fully convinc'd of the Truth of the Sollicitor's Assertions, and a Judicial Court was erected at *Metz*, for the determining the Most Christian's King's Claims of several Territories and Dependences on that Bishoprick, by virtue of which the King of *Sweden* was summon'd to do Homage for the Dutchy of *Deuxponts*, which his *Swedish* Majesty refusing to do, the new Court pronounc'd the

Decree

Decree of *Reunion*, and the French King receiv'd Homage for it from a Prince of that Family, the Palatine of *Berkinsfield*, who not being likely to have it by Succession, was glad to come to it by Grant or any how.

The Success of this Court in this Affair, made way for other Chambers of Claims and Decrees of *Reunion*. Other Sovereign Princes were proceeded against by Courts compos'd of French Subjects and Servants, requiring of them Fealty and Homage. Those who were in no condition to resist, comply'd; those who refus'd to acquiesce, smarted for it by French Garrisons and Quartering of French Soldiers. The Rhin-grave was promis'd if he would submit to the Court for form sake, they would replace him in all his Rights and Privileges. That Prince knowing he was by no means a Match for an Antagonist, supported by the Power of France, and glad to be distinguish'd from other Princes by such kind Offers, perform'd his Submission, and demanded the performance of their Promises, but the Court refus'd to proceed any further, and refer'd him to the Ministers, upon which he was forc'd to take a Journey to *Versailles*, where they told him, *They wonder'd such a Petty Prince as he was should be unwilling to hold his Country in Fee of so great a King as was their Master*. The Elector Palatine had much such another Answer from them, upon Complaint made by his Minister of the Ravages daily committed in his Country by French Soldiers, contrary to the

Treaty of Peace, he was told, *When a little Prince, like himself, had the Honour to be Neighbour to so great a King, he ought not to be so nice and stand upon Punctilioes.*

These Claims in *Germany* made way for that of the County of *Alost* in *Flanders*, as an Appurtenance of the *New Conquests*. This being a large Country with several good Towns and Villages, the *Spaniards* were resolv'd not to part with it on that score, and the Claim remain'd depending, till *France* thought the Juncture more favourable to defy the Confederates by an avow'd Rupture. The County of *Chini* had been yielded to *France*, with all its Appurtenances, by the late Treaty, and she now alledg'd the Dependencies of that County reach'd to the Gates of *Luxemburgh*, which City she requir'd to be put in Possession of, and sent an Army to block it up. The Garrison being almost starv'd, the Governor made a Salley to get a Convoy of Provisions into the Place, and a few *French* Soldiers dropping in the Action, the *French* Court cry'd out against the *Spaniards*, as Breakers of the Peace, drew down an Army towards the *Netherlands*, and oblig'd the Court of *Madrid* to disown and discharge the Governor, and to pay a Sum of Money for Satisfaction. After which the *Blockade* of *Luxemburgh* was renew'd, and the Governor and Garrison forc'd to bear a thousand Insults from the *French* that were quarter'd all round it.

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The Chambers of Claims and Re-unions proceeding thus vigorously on the side of *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, the next thing the *French* thought of, was how to strengthen themselves during the Peace on that of *Italy*, and there they found the Duke of *Mantua* in a very good Disposition to make a Bargain with them for *Casal*, which the Emperor highly resented; for besides that, *Casal* was a Fief of the Empire, he was the Presumptive Heir to it by Descent: But *France* was now above all Fear of Opposition, and rather made a Jest of the Powers of *Europe*, than shew'd any Apprehension of giving them Offence. The honest Sollicitor, now a Judge of the Chamber of *Metz* before-mention'd, ingeniously confess'd one Day to some of his Friends, who seem'd to question the Validity of his Decrees, and whether they could be executed against so many Sovereign Princes, that 'twas not the Validity he depended upon; adding, *He serv'd a Master who bad at Beck an hundred Pieces of Cannon, an hundred Thousand Men, and an hundred Millions of Money to put those Decrees in Execution.* Here was the Faith of a Prince, on whose *Bona Fide* so much stress has been laid. Where were those Cannon, those Armies of Men, and those Millions of Money, when a Mareschal and even a Cardinal of *France* were suing for a Peace in a little Dutch Village on the Frontiers of *Holland*? And to whose Mercy will it be owing, if *France* shall ever again dare to talk of her Millions and her Thousands?

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It must be confess'd, the French Court did not turn the Prince of *Montbeliard* out of his Territories, without assigning a Reason, which was, that his Country lay convenient for that Crown.

Not content to demand the City of *Luxemburgh* as a Dependance of the little County of *Chini*, tho' itself the Capital of a large Province, she did the same by part of the City of *Liege*, and the City of *Mentz*, pretending, as to the latter, that the Elector's Stables were built on some Lands which stood within the Limits of her Sovereign Courts. Nor did she let the City of *Cologn* escape, under pretence that both *Cologn* and *Mentz* being much encreas'd by length of Time, all that had been built for four or five Years preceding, was built upon what was granted her by virtue of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, that those Buildings must be demolish'd and the Cities restrain'd again to their ancient Bounds, or the Proprietors of them pay Allegiance to the Crown of *France*.

In the former Part of this History Notice is taken of the French King's Inveterate Hatred to our late Sovereign King *William*, of Glorious Memory, of his usurping his Principality of *Orange* in his Minority, and afterwards of his pretending to out him of it by a Chimerical Proces in the Name of the Dutches of *Nemours*, as Plaintiff, and of their citing his Highness, then Prince of *Orange*, to appear before the Parliament of *Paris* in that Case, on Default of which, the Principality, restor'd to his Highness by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, was adjudg'd to the Dutches.

Dutches. *Orange* had been 150 Years in the House of *Nassau*, and had the Dutches had any Claim to it, 'twas laps'd in point of Time, thirty being a Prescription in *France*. Besides it was very unlikely such a Title should have lain so long dormant, had it had any Foundation, the *French* King would have been fond enough of that *Principality*, to have made use of it for the annexing it to his Crown, if there had been the least appearance of Right. Monsieur *Heinsius* was sent by the Prince of *Orange* in the Year 1683, to represent the wrong that was done him in the Illegal Decree granted to Madam *de Nemours*. He was at the *French* Court near a Twelvemonth, and all that while the Ambassador of the *States General* supported his Negotiations, which, however, were ineffectual, and the Prince's Territories became a Prey to the Exorbitant Power of *France*, towards the reducing of which he a few Years after so much contributed.

The only Generous Part play'd by the Great *Lewis*, with Respect to his Neighbours, for what he did for King *James* was done for himself more than for his Abdicated Friend, an Act of Generosity always boasted of when Opportunity offers by the *French*, was the raising the Blockade of *Luxemburgh* before-mention'd, under colour of leaving the House of *Austria* at Liberty to bend all their Strength against the Infidels. Now it was known to many, that *France* was willing to have rais'd that Blockade

ade a whole Year before the *Turks* came down upon *Hungary*. The *Imperialists* and *Spaniards* were marching to recover *Strasburgh* and *Casal*, Acquisitions which the *French Court* reckon'd invaluable, and entirely to prevent the recovery of either of those Places, he rais'd that Blockade to strengthen his Armies that were order'd to observe the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, who finding themselves too weak, gave over the Attempt. When the King order'd the *Spanish Ambassador* at his Court, the *Marquis de Fuentes*, to be told, that he had thought good to withdraw his Troops from *Luxemburgh*, to give the King of *Spain* the greater Liberty to assist the Emperor, the *Marquis* thank'd his Majesty; but could not help telling his Friends, that the King wanted those Forces elsewhere, or he would not have been so very obliging.

Since so much has been said of the secret Intrigues between the *French* and the *Turks*, it will not be amiss to explain with what Views they were carry'd on, not so distant at first as the chusing the *Dauphin* King of the *Romans*, but so near as the immediate possession of the *Imperial Diadem*, if one may give Credit to a Treatise printed by a Court Printer in the latter Part of the Reign of King *Charles II.* which has furnish'd me with several Facts that have relation to my Design.

Nor was this done with any manner of Reserve. All the *French* Nation look'd upon their Monarch as aspiring, not only to the Empire, but to the Universal Monarchy,

narchy, and hardly a Footman but expected a share of his Imperial Glories. As to what relates to *Germany*, the Design was so Publick, that a Book was printed and dedicated to him, entitul'd, *The just Pretences of the King of France to the Empire*. In which the Author having laid down this for a Ground, that the *Dominions of Sovereign Princes have always been the Dominions and Conquests of their Estates, and that the Dominions and Conquests of Crowns cannot be alienated nor proscribed*, at length draws these two Conclusions,

First, That the greatest Part of Germany is the Patrimony and Ancient Inheritance of the French Princes.

Secondly, That Charlemagne did possess Germany as King of France, and not as Emperor.

The French King never wanted Writers to vindicate any Action of his Reign, as the effect of his Justice and Virtue. His Conquering the Empire would have been restoring it to the Crown of *France*, from which it had been ravish'd. This might have been said with as good a Grace, as what the first President of the Parliament of *Paris* told him in a famous Harangue made upon his reducing of *Starzburgh*, (so they were pleas'd to call the cheating that Town of its Liberty, as has been already related) wherein he plainly aggravates that great Action of the King's, upon the Account of bringing back to the French Monarchy

so considerable a Limb, that had been cut off from it through the Weakness of former Kings. But what becomes of all this Flattery? When it shall be known, that were it true that the Successors of *Charles the Great* had a Right to all that Prince was possess'd of, it would not have been *Lewis XIV.* but the Duke of *Lorrain* that had the just Title to those Countries, and even to *France* itself, since he descended in a lineal uninterrupted Line from *Charles the Great*, and the present *French* King can count no higher than *Hugh Capet*, who never mix'd with such Illustrious Blood, but all the while was this true Heir to *Charlemagne*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, forc'd to live in Exile, *Lewis XIV.* keeping from him even that small parcel of those vast Dominions to which he had the best Hereditary Right.

How easy therefore is it for *French* Pens to break through all Treaties and Renunciations, when the Arms of *France* can support their false Assertions and Arguments? If they could give *Germany* to their King by a Descent from *Charlemagne*, will they not be able to give *Spain* or *France* to which Branch of the House of *Bourbon* makes most for the Interest and Glory of the Crown? Nor did the *French* Court content themselves with these Publick Attempts, by vast Bribes and other Artifices, they engag'd several of the Emperor's Counsellors, nay his Favourite Prince *Lobcowitz* to betray his Master's Councils and Affairs, and I do not see in this Disposition and this Condition, how it had

been

been possible for all the Powers of *Europe* to have hinder'd his being their Master, had the *Turks* taken *Vienna*, and the Imperial Army been defeated, as it was expected, in *France*.

No sooner had the King Advice that the *Turks* were fallen upon *Hungary*, but he posted from *Versailles* to put himself at the Head of the *French* Army on the *Rhine*, and nothing was talk'd of but the Siege of *Cologn* or *Philipsburgh*. The Generosity of his Most Christian Majesty in raising the Blockade of *Luxemburgh* vanish'd, and when the House of *Austria* was in the greatest Distress, he threaten'd a terrible Irruption on one side, while the Infidels did the same on the other, but he expected the latter would have been stop'd at *Raab* or *Comorra*, and that during those Sieges he might have made himself Master of the Empire, the Imperial Troops being employ'd in *Hungary*. When News came that the Imperialists had abandon'd the Pass at *Raab*, that the Infidels were not stop'd there nor at *Comorra*, that they advanc'd on with a prodigious Host to the Capital of *Austria* and the Empire, *Vienna*, determin'd to besiege it, of which City, if they became Masters, all *Germany* would have been in the utmost Peril of the *Ottoman* Slavery; the King, who design'd the Empire for himself, did not think fit to contribute to the subjecting it to the *Grand Signior*. He was in hopes they would have spent their Time before *Comorra* or *Raab*, and the Electors seeing themselves surrounded by Enemies, would have submitted

mitted to whatever Conditions should have been offer'd them: That when the *Turks* were weaken'd by Sieges in *Hungary*, he should have been able with his own Forces, and the *Germans* to have driven them to *Constantinople*, and have restor'd in his Person the *Roman Empire* to its fullest Extent in *Europe*. Nor was this Ambition of his so Chimerical as it now seems to be; for his own Army of 100000 Men, and the *Turks* of 200000 Men, must have frighted the *Germans* into an Agreement with him on his own Terms, had not the rapid Motion of the *Turks* made his Conquest of the Empire too uncertain for him to attempt it, when the Infidels had the start of him, and the most Sanguine Friends to the Liberties of *Germany* gave 'em over as a Prey to the *Ottomans*. The Siege of *Vienna* made him change his Measures; my Author reflects thus upon it. ' He found it was no more to his purpose to set upon the Empire, which another was about taking possession of, by the Conquest of a single Town. For as that was the only Place of Defence, it was possible for him indeed to have caus'd a great deal of Desolation and Terror on his side, but was the wrong Way to settle him on the Throne.' *France* therefore chose to play a small Game, and while the Fall of *Vienna* was in suspence, to send her Emissaries about *Germany*, representing to the Princes of the Empire, ' The Weakness of the Emperor, that he was fitter to hold Beads than a Scepter, and to sit in a Cloister than at the Helm; that the

Em-

Empire was tottering under his Government, and wanted a brave Vigorous Prince, who, besides a thousand other illustrious Qualities, knew perfectly well how to lead his Armies. That if the *Turks* master'd *Vienna*, the *Germans* must all take their Yoke on them, and there was no Help left for them, but in the Invincible Arms of *Lewis the Great*, whose Aid they ought to implore, and might depend upon it, provided they elected the Dauphin King of the *Romans*, after which the King would in Person come to their Assistance, and restore the Empire to a more flourishing State than ever it had been in under the greatest of its Emperors.

Prince *William of Furstemburgh*, Bishop of *Stratzburgh*, was the Creature of *France*. He had been several Years labouring to betray his Country, and no Man endeavour'd more powerfully to insinuate these Things than himself! But the *Germans* shew'd a greater Abhorrence to the *French* Yoke than that of the *Turks*, and I must confess their Choice had Providence driven them to so fatal a one, would have been better directed to have the *Sultan* their Master than the *Most Christian King*. All the *German* Courts rejected the Offers of *France* with Indignation, and resolv'd to stand out to the last Extremity, rather than hazard their Liberties by making use of *French* Succours. Upon this *Lewis XIV.* turn'd his Forces against *Flanders*, and march'd an Army to possess himself of the County of *Alost*, which one of

his Chambers of Claims and Re-union had decree'd to belong to him, as is before-mention'd. This Expedition was put off by the sudden Death of the Queen of France, a Princess of most excellent Virtue and Merit, who dy'd after a Sickness of two or three Days only. There was no suspicion of any indirect Means us'd to hasten her End, as is too often uncharitably judg'd in the Death of Princes: But it was so sudden, and had such an effect on the Peace of Europe at that Juncture, that I shall be a little Particular in relating it, there being certain Passages in it which are undoubted Parts of Secret History, my Author having them immediately from Madam the Mareschale de *Humieres* one of the Ladies of her Bedchamber.

Her Majesty's Disease did not appear to be dangerous. It was only a Swelling which inclin'd kindly enough to Suppuration, but the Doctors, instead of letting Nature have her Course, let her Blood through Ignorance, contrary to the Opinion of Monsieur *Fagon*, her Chief Physician, upon which the Distemper struck to her Heart and carry'd her off. As soon as the King was sensible her Life was in danger, he threw himself upon her Bed, and with Tears in his Eyes spoke to her in *Spanish*, but her Majesty was then in the Agony, and she dy'd in his Arms, without being able to return a Word in Answer. The Physicians had an Hour or two before given her *Emetick Wine*, but she had not Strength enough to bear it, and instead of doing her good, it shorten'd her

Time

Time. The King seeing she was dead, express'd all the Violence of Passion, and held her still in his Arms, till he was forc'd away from her. Two or three Days before she dy'd, she being extreamly bigotted to her Religion, call'd for an *Almanack* to see when a certain Holyday would fall out, to which she had a particular Devotion. She turn'd it over till she came to it, and found the *Almanack*-maker, in his Predictions on the Month of July 1685. foretold the *withdrawing of a Prince, and the Death of some great Lady, who would be much regretted*. The Prince of Conde having lately retir'd from Court, she presently apply'd that Event to the accomplishment of one part of his Prediction, and turning to Madam de *Humieres*, said, *Is it not me he means by the other.* The King's extream Grief put a stop to his *Expedition to Flanders*. He went immediately to Sr. Clou his Brother the Duke of Orleans's House, and from thence to *Fountainebleau*, it being the main Business of the Court to endeavour to divert his Melancholly, and Politicks and War were for a while laid aside.

Having taken a short View of Foreign Affairs, as far as they are of Instruction to us to warn us of the Danger of *French Intrigues*, I return now to those of our own Country, where those Intrigues have been more mischievous than any where else, the *Faction* in their Interest being encourag'd by the Protection given in *France* to the Pretenders to the Crown of *Great Britain*, King James II. and the Knight of *St. George*.

The Correspondence carry'd on between the *Faction* in *England* and Monsieur *Croissy*, a *French* Minister, was no such Secret, as it might not have found a Place in other Histories besides *Anecdotes*. I have mention'd something of it in the Second Part, *Page 264.* and now I shall present the Reader with the very Paper that was sent from the *General Council of Jacobites* held at *Lambeth* to the *French Court*. There had been two or three Memorials before this, but none so full and so promising. The Reasons why they press'd the *French King* so much to send over an Army to conquer us in 1690. was from the fair Face of the Juncture of Time, which is thus represented in a Treatise publish'd then by a sort of Authority. The Author is speaking of the Disaffected Party, and particularly the *Jacobite Clergy*, who were the Contrivers and Managers of the *Memorial* and the intended Insurrection to second the Invasion. ' They knew, says he, ' how busy they themselves had been to buz into the Ears of all People they had any Interest with, Jealousies of the Government, and the Reasonableness of calling back a Prince that was by an unalterable Divine Right their King. They knew how busy they had been in every Corner, to whisper the great and heavy Taxes the Kingdom lay under in this Reign, and how greatly Trade was decay'd; when in the mean while these Wretches were conscious to themselves, that more Money had been given in another

‘ ther Reign to be squander’d away on
‘ Whores, than it cost *England* to save
‘ *Ireland* from becoming a Province of
‘ *France*.

I must not let this Observation pass without recommending to the Reader another, and that is, how exactly it agrees with the Clamours of the same *Faction* on other Occasions, where the Interest of *France* is concern’d. How inviting they thought the Opportunity for King’s *James*’s Restauration, appears by what follows in the same Treatise, ‘ They likewise knew the Dis-
‘ senters had of late been disoblig’d, by
‘ continuing the *Sacramental Test*, and the
‘ Five hundred Pound Penalty, with some
‘ other Things that seem’d very hard,
‘ considering their Hearty Affection to
‘ King *William*’s Government. They knew
‘ that the most moderate Part of the
‘ Church of *England*, call’d *Whigs*, had met
‘ with some Mortifications of late in the
‘ Elections for Parliament, but more espe-
‘ cially in the *Change of the Lieutenantcy of*
‘ London: They were also pretty well ac-
‘ quainted with the Temper of some Men
‘ in Offices, both in the *Lieutenancy* and
‘ *Militia*, who had gone a considerable
‘ Length in the High Flown Courses of the
‘ late *Reigns*; and they were easily induc’d
‘ to think, that those who had gone the
‘ greatest Length in betraying the Liberty
‘ of the City of *London* in packing of *Ju-*
‘ *ries*, and the like, could never be Cordial
‘ Friends to the present Government.

I have seen a List of the Lieutenancy here spoken of; but as it is compos'd of Names that are hardly worth Remembrance, I shall only insert a few of them, most of which will be found among Jeffery's Juries, as those of Rawlinson, Langham, Bedingfield, Forster, Midgely, Gilburn, Withers, Foyer, Feltham, Coles, Genew, Gerrard, Woodroffe, Kemp, Carpenter, Ainge, &c. And it is likely this great City would have been well defended by those who having been accessary to the surrender of its Charter, had before subjected it to the Will of the Prince. The Memorial above-mention'd is as follows :

To the most Serene and most Invincible Prince Lewis the Great, his Most Christian Majesty, the Petition of the Loyal and Distress'd Noblemen, Clergy, Gentlemen and others, of all Ranks, within the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, at present under the Fetters of a Cruel Usurpation.

Great and Invincible Monarch,

THE Resplendid Rays of your Majesty's Virtues have render'd all the World your Adorers, and that Inherent Goodness, of which your Majesty stands so transcendently possess'd, does render you the only Sanctuary of all the Distress'd. It's in the Confidence which this your unparallel'd Goodness gives us, that we, in all humble Duty, presume to lay our Sighs at your Majesty's Feet, that we may implore your Royal Favour and Assistance

to rid us out of the great and insupportable Affliction we lye under at present. It's in your Royal Arms and Bounty we repose our Hope and Constancy, and expect to see our lawful King, your Ancient Friend and Ally, restor'd to the Rightful Throne of his Ancestors, out of which wicked Men have thrust him. And because this is the most proper Time for your Majesty to assist him, with Expectation of Success, we have presum'd to lay before you the present favourable Circumstances that do concur to make your Majesty's Glorious Enterprize the more easy, which are principally these.

I. The Prince of Orange, the Usurper, is just on his Journey to Ireland, and being once arrived in that Kingdom, if a Part of your Majesty's Fleet were able to block up St. George's Channel, the Usurper's Army would certainly be starv'd, being that all their Provisions come by Sea from Scotland and England, and that Part of the Country they are Masters of is already harrass'd and ruin'd by both Armies, both the last Year and this.

II. The Usurper has partly sent before, and partly taken along with himself the whole almost and the better disciplin'd Part of the Army, and leaves behind him but a very few of the English Regiments, who serve more out of Necessity and Fear than out of any Love to him or to the Interest.

III. The Forces he leaves behind are so few, that they are scarce capable to keep Guards in the Tower, Savoy, Somerset-house, and at Whitehall altogether, and the three Regiments that are sent for out of Holland, will not be

got ready for some Weeks to imbark, neither is it thought they will stir a foot, because of want of Pay. Like as both Officers and Soldiers are not entirely devoted to the Usurper's Interest, the most of them being in the Service of our Lawful King, before he was necessitated to leave us.

IV. Most of our Fleet are at so great distance one from another, that they cannot this Year make any considerable Body, there being the best and ablest Seamen with Killegrew in the Streights, and Shovel in St. George's Channel, amounting together to no more than nineteen Ships of War.

V. There are likewise employ'd for Convoys, and about the Western Coasts of Scotland to the number of five or six Ships, all separately.

VI. The Dutch Squadron is in no appearance to be here to joyn ours on a sudden, both because they are not yet in a readiness, and that the Admirals of Holland make Scruple, and are highly discontented to sail under our English Admiral. Moreover, tho' they were joyn'd us, they will but make up at most twenty Sail of Ships, and them none of the best, considering their tallest and best Mann'd Ships are out upon Convoys.

VII. Our own Fleet is ill Mann'd, and the Soldiers and Seamen are extreamly discontented for want of their Pay, several of the Officers are those that belong'd to our King before he went away, &c.

There's enough of it, the rest is all of a Piece, full of Lyes and Misrepresentations;

tations. It was written Originally in the French Tongue, and is the same to which the French King's Ministers refer'd, when they told the Pope, *That the reiterated Prayers of King James's Subjects of both Religions, oblig'd him to assist him*; and to which Monsieur de Mesme, the Count d'Avrux's Nephew, has also Reference, when he tells the Academy of Paris, *That the King was invited over by the Protestants of England*, as may be seen more at large in the Second Part. These were the Men who then call'd themselves the only True Churchmen, and treated the Bishops, and the purest and greatest part of our truly Orthodox Church, as Schismatics. Some of these were not content with inviting the French hither, they went to meet and accompany them, in a Visit, that if it had succeeded, must have delug'd this Kingdom with a Sea of Blood, laid our Cities and Countries waste, and have entail'd Poverty, Idolatry, and Slavery on all that surviv'd it, and on their Posterity for ever. Some of them, I say, boasted in their Letters from aboard the Vice-Admiral of France, six Leagues off Shore, *That they were in pursuit of the flying English and Dutch Fleet, and burning and sinking them all the way*. Such a hellish Treason to their Country cou d not but raise a general Abhorrence against the Authors of it, and Five of the Seven Bishops who had been imprison'd by King James, for Resisting his Royal Will, lying under the Imputation of being concern'd in this Invitation, publish'd a Vindication of themselves

selves, which was sign'd by Dr. *William Sancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *John Lake*, Bishop of *Chichester*; Dr. *Thomas Ken*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*; Dr. *Tho. White*, Bishop of *Peterburgh*; and Dr. *Francis Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*, last mention'd, because we shall have occasion to speak of his *Double Dealing* in this Affair immediately. This Invasion was to have been attended with an *Assassination* as well as that of 1695. and *Ashton* was to have carry'd to *France* a *Scheme* for the Invasion, as *Charnock* did; which *Scheme* was found upon *Ashton*, tho' he had the Face at his Execution to declare he dy'd *Innocently*. The Five suspended Bishops in their *Vindication* renounc'd all Invitations in order to any Invasion of this Kingdom by the *French*. Their *Vindication* was written by the Bishop of *Ely* himself, and it unhappily fell out that two Letters of his were intercept'd, address'd to King *James* and his Queen *Mary*, wherein the former Correspondence with the Courts of *Versailles* and *St. Germain* is plainly own'd, and that it was with the consent of all of them. *I speak in the Plural*, says the good Bishop, because I write my *Elder Brother's Sentiments*, as well as my own, and the rest of the Family. To which Correspondence, *The Interruption that had been given*, the Bishop says, *has had very ill Effects*. The *French* were so far from keeping the Invitation and Memorial a *Secret*, that they mention'd the latter in several Papers, and own'd it was written and drawn up by a Clergyman of *England*, which gave good

good ground to suspect, that the Vindication, the Memorial, and the Letters were all the Works of one Man.

These Letters fix the Conspiracy to betray us to *France* on the Non-juring Bishops and Clergy: They fairly acknowledge not only the Authors own, but his *Eldest Brother's* and the rest of the Family; their Assurance of full Duty in Words, and that they will shew it by their Actions. They were not only bare Well-wishers to King *James*, they were also Active for him; and what those Actions were, the French Fleets insulting our Coasts, and *Ashton's* Plan, sufficiently discover. They further confess a Correspondence with King *James's* Queen *Mary*, and that it had been of a Twelvemonths Continuance, long before the suspended Bishops publish'd their Vindication, wherein they say, *They only study'd to be Quiet*: Dr. *Turner* adds, *Their Young Master has all their Wishes, and that he is no more capable of Swerving from his Duty to the late Queen, than he is of renouncing his hopes of Heaven*; comparing her Favour with the Goodness of the Almighty, an effect of his Love to God as well as to his Country.

Thus we see who were the Persons that wou'd have sacrific'd the Religion and Liberty of their Country to their Lust of Power. They were not *Papists*; they pretended a great Concern for the Security of the *Church*: They went so far as to tell King *James* in *Ashton's* Scheme, *He must think of nothing short of a Protestant Administration, the Protestants having the Heads, Hands*

Hands, and Wealth on their side, with the advantage of at least 200 to one in Number of the Papists, and that all the latter must hope for was a Legal Liberty of Conscience. The King, say these Jacobites and Tories, may Reign a Catholick in Devotion, but he must Reign a Protestant in Government: Cromwel, tho^s on a broader bottom, could not keep what he had got. But they are very pressing for him to hasten over with his Popish French Army, and what such Auxiliaries wou'd have done for the Security of our Church is easily to be imagin'd, by what King James himself had done after his Promises to his Council and Parliament on that Subject. The Lord Preston makes a Remark in the Paper which was taken written with his own Hand, that sets a certain Party in a Light they are not well pleas'd with. The Clergy have been more than once charg'd with Prevarication in this Matter, and most of all, the Ignorant Rural Clergy; the more Learned and Wise, especially those of London, have been true to the Interest of England, as that Lord confesses, distinguishing them thus: *The London Clergy are the worst.* As for the others he speaks plainly; *We have their Wishes, and they their Oaths.* That Paper is indeed very imperfect and unintelligible; as where he says, *Ormond disoblig'd about the Guards.* *Three of Five against the Vacancy of the Throne, Beaufort, Newcastle, Thanet, Sawyer, Lutwich, Pemberton, Levinz, Winington, Shower, Carter, and others at Portsmouth, the likelier Men to come to him.*

him. . . . Get to it before the Conjunction. . . . Fight in the Chops of the Channel. . . . Land behind Southsea Castle. . . . Portsmouth not Mann'd. . . . Nothing but Pal-lisadoes about Gosport. . . . Jennings, Strickland, or Trevanion from St Maloes in the Night. . . . Dismiss his Foreigners, &c. These were Heads to help his Memory when he got to France. If one knew what he meant by the Woman that was with the King in Ireland, and sent with a Commission. . . . To Stafford failing not to be sent again, one might probably find out another Assassination Plot. There's no great Mystery in his Fr. K. his Highlanders, and the like, nor in what was to be done to these Lords, Dorset, Cornwallis, Mountague, Stamford, Shrewsbury, Macclesfield, Monmouth, Devonshire. They were entirely in the Interests of King William, and are doubtless remember'd as Exceptions to a Pardon; their Heads and their Estates being to pay for the Share they had in the Revolution.

Can any doubt be now made of the Design of these *Staunch* Protestants to bring in King James and the *French*? To what purpose were these Notices and Cautions given, and to what End was the Lord Preston to have carry'd this Account of our Fleet to France with him?

Rates.	Ships.	Ships in Repair.	Not in Building.
1	8	5	3
2	12	11	1
3	35	34	1
4	38	34	4
5	14	14	4
6	9	9	1
Fireships	25	25	8
Bomb			
Vessels	1	1	8
Ketches	1	1	
	—	—	—
	143	134	21

N. B. Ninety the Fleet, whereof Sixty Dutch.

The new Ships Building are expected will be ready to be Launch'd by the end of March.

There happen'd an Affair with relation to *Ashton* after he was executed, which gives further Grounds of Jealousy of the *Imposture* of the *Pretender*, and a Jealousy bordering very near upon Conviction. In the Paper he left behind him to be publish'd by his Friends, he says, or his Friends make him say, *He was carrying over to King James certain Papers, containing a Scheme of the whole Matter, and Proofs to be produc'd, to prove the Legitimacy of his Royal Highness, (as he calls him) and this he was doing for King James's View. A hopeful Business! A Scheme of the Prince of Wales's Birth, for the Satisfaction of his Father.* Did not King

James

James know more of that Matter than Mr. Ashton? Was there any need of a Scheme to satisfy the Court of St. Germain? Must not this Intrigue be better known to the King and Queen and their Confidents, than to any one else? If the Birth was true, why was there any other Scheme drawn up for it, than what was given the World in the *Depositions* of the Court Lords and Ladies, which tho' they wanted Evidence, wanted not for Obscenity? I think this is as sufficient Proof of the *Imposture* as one cou'd wish. Wou'd it not be a pleasant thing for a Man to present a real Mother with a new Scheme of her Delivery.

I shall conclude my Reflections on this Subject with those of a very famous Author, who question'd whether or not this Paper was *Genuine*, tho' publish'd by Ashton's Friends after his Execution. *The Men that have suppositated this Paper*, says he, *have by this one single Story of drawing up a Scheme of the Prince of Wales's Birth*, to send to King James, *unhappily stumbled upon one of the strongest Presumptions in the World*. That they were also capable of a Scheme to suppositate an Heir to a Crown, when it made for their Interest so to do; and the rather, that thereby they make King James merely Passive in the Thing that would seem most to concern him of any Body living, and do pretend to give him the Model of an *Affair*, that if it had been really true, he must of necessity have known much better than themselves, or all the World besides.

There

There are some who think they strengthen the Cause of the *Revolution*, by allowing that the *Prerender* has an *Hereditary Right*. I know the Faction that now says he is an *Impostor*, said for twenty Years together he was the *True Heir*, and I doubt not they will one time or other say so again: But for my Part, who care not whether he is or is not an *Impostor*, with respect to my Allegiance to my Rightful and Lawful Sovereign Queen *Anne*, and want not the Pretence of his Illegitimacy, to excuse my Loyalty to a Queen whose Title so many Illustrious Senates have recogniz'd and confirm'd, I always thought him neither the Son of Queen *Mary*, nor the Son of *Mary Wall*, but the Son of some Body, whom they have taken effectual Care to keep from our Knowledge, and that his Birth will be always as much a *Secret* as the *Death* of the Earl of *Essex*, or that of King *Charles the Second*.

Notwithstanding the detection of this Conspiracy, and *Ashton's Execution*, such were the Industry and Interest of the Party, that it was soon forgotten, every Discovery that was made was ridicul'd, and the *Lancashire Plot* so far turn'd into a Jest, that one could not talk of it without incurring the Character of a *Fool*. Yet there is not now the least Doubt of that Conspiracy, which was continu'd after the Gentlemen who were accus'd of it were clear'd in the Country. The Proceedings against those Gentlemen being too hasty, and before sufficient Proof was procur'd, the Faction did

did their utmost to expose the Rashness and Credulity of the Government, representing it as a cruel thirsting after the Blood of a parcel of quiet harmless People, who tho' they could not take the Oaths to the Government, were resolv'd to pay a Passive Obedience to it.

When Capt. Smith gave Information of what he knew of the Practices of the Jacobites, he confirm'd what had been discover'd before of their Preparations for an Insurrection in Lancashire. In his Minutes of the 2d of December, 1694. he says, *Tho' the Lancashire Gentlemen got well off, yet he believ'd they were well provided, and in a Letter to his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury, of the 11th of December, speaking of the Parliament's complying with King William's Demands, he adds, It dejects the Jacobites, and puts them the more upon exposing the Government, in relation to the late Affair in Lancashire, thinking thereby to cover their Intentions.*

Is not this the Practice of the same Treacherous Faction at this Time? How do they ridicule Lesley's Visit to the Pretender, and Dr. Taylor's Visit to us? What a Jest do they make of our Fears of him? How Impotent do they represent his Party, to lull us into a Security that may prove fatal to our Constitution, if it grows upon us? How do they boast of their Zeal for Monarchy, and their Obedience to the Laws? How easy are they in the present Juncture? How delighted with Peace, which gives

them an Opportunity to go backwards or forwards on their Master's Messages with the more freedom and safety? The Lenity of King William's Administration encourag'd his Enemies in their wicked Devices. *Lunt*, one of King James's Agents, who had been imprison'd for dispersing his Commissions immediately after the Revolution, having had the good Fortune to be discharg'd, was presently employ'd by the Lancashire Papists to list Men and buy Arms, about the Year 1691. when *Grandvall's* Assassination Plot was on Foot in Flanders. *Lunt* went to France in the Winter of that Year to inform King James of the readiness his Friends were in to receive him; and returning to England, assur'd the Conspirators, that Colonel *Parker* would shortly be with them with full Instructions. This Assassin acquainted them upon his arrival, that the French King would lend King James an Army of 30000 Men the next Summer for an Invasion, and send as many more after them if they were wanted. *Parker* had form'd a Design to murder the King before he went to Flanders, as *Goodman* swore, and being prevented by his Majesty's Departure sooner than he expected, he hearten'd up the Faction, by assuring them that *Grandvall* would re-assume his Assassination Plot the next Campaign. And where was it that *Parker* was to be Posted but in Lancashire? Whether he actually went, took several good Officers with him, to whom he assign'd Posts

Posts in that County, *Yorkshire*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, taking himself his Head Quarters at Mr. *Walmesley's* at *Dun-gan-Hall*; from whence, as Commander in Chief of the Rebels in those Parts, he issu'd out his Orders. Their Arms had been hid in Woods and Hedges, or bury'd under Walls, or laid up in Cellars and Out-houses, but he order'd them to be taken thence and distributed, that they might be ready to meet King *James* at his Landing from *La Hogue*, which was the occasion that when Search was afterwards made for them, they could not be found, and the Faction gave out, it was only a Trick to bring an Odium on the *Catholicks* and *High Churchmen*.

Captain *Smith*, who herded with the Conspirators, and was thought to be in their Interests, wrote further to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* the 23d of December 1694. *The want of using this Conduct made a great Clamour in Lancashire*, where they might have had Arms, if the like Care had been taken, &c. And again; February the 3d, *This I am sure of, that such a Discovery would have demonstrated the Truth of the Party's Preparation*, and that the Lancashire Gentlemen were not unprovided, which would have taken off the Blemish the State lay under, partly by too quick an Apprehension.

Notwithstanding which, the Papists and their Abettors had such an Interest even at Court, that the Business was quash'd at

once, and the Discoverers and Prosecutors vilify'd, as if it had been all Imposture ; nay, so far did the Faction carry it, as to accuse them in Parliament, and endeavour to throw it as a *Sham-Plot* on the State : But the House of Commons, after a full Examination of the Matter, Resolv'd, February 6th, 1694. *That there doth appear to this House sufficient Grounds for the Prosecution and Tryal of the Gentlemen at Manchester.* 2. *That upon the Informations and Examinations before this House, it does appear there was a dangerous Plot carry'd on against the King and Government.* And they further Order'd, *That Mr. Standish of Standish-Hall in Lancashire, should be taken into Custody.*

Standish getting out of the way, they address'd the King for a Proclamation to apprehend him. Yet so Impudent was this Faction, that defying the Resolutions and Orders of the House of Commons, they laid their Complaints also before the House of Peers, where, after the Witnesses were examin'd, their Case was debated, and the Question being put, *Whether the Government had sufficient Cause to prosecute the late Persons accus'd of a Plot in Lancashire and Cheshire,* it was carry'd in the *Affirmative.*

What should give Encouragement to these Betrayers of their Country, to approach the Legislature, but Secret Assurances that a great number of both Houses would be for them ? That these Conspirators

rators were not entirely *Popish*, but had a considerable Body of *Staunch Churchmen*, engag'd with them, one may see by the following List publish'd in a Proclamation in the Year 1692, to take and apprehend,

Robert Earl of Scarfdale,
Henry Earl of Litchfield,
Sir Theophilus Oglethorp,
Sir Andrew Forrester,
Colonel Henry Slingsby,
James Grahme, Esq; &c,

I might here mention the Earl of Aylesbury, *George Higgens*, *Bevil Higgens*, and others, who were in Proclamations for other Assassination and Invasion Plots, but I refer them to another Time, when I shall set forth the Conspiracies of such *Church-men* as these, to bring in a *French Army*, to settle a *French Religion* and Government, and to over-turn the Settlements founded on the Revolution. I have Memoirs by me to that Purpose, which shall e'er long be made Publick, and the Pretences of these Men to Loyalty to Her Majesty be expos'd, by the History of their Practices in favour of the Impostor, her Competitor. If any of these Men, their Children or Brothers, should so far recover their Credit as to be trusted

in Employments, how uneasy would it make all Her Majesty's Loyal Subjects? What Proofs have they given of their Penitence and Conversion? Do they not in all their Actions still countenance that Party who are Friends to *France* and its Pretender? What has that *Huggins* done for whom there was a thousand Pounds offer'd in the Proclamation for apprehending the Assassins, what, I say, has he done, to give the State Security that he has chang'd his Principles, and to deserve a Place of publick Trust and Profit? Is it not pleasant to hear how Mannerly we are grown all of a sudden? Was not the Marquis of *Powis* an *Outlaw*? Where and by whom was he made a Duke? Was it not at *St. Germain*, and by an Abdicated King? Was not the Lord *Montgomery*, his Son, at Meetings with the Earl of *Aylesbury*, Sir *John Friend*, Sir *William Perkins*, Sir *John Fenwick*, *Charnock*, *Cook*, *Goodman*, and others engag'd in the Conspiracy of 1695? I do not ask how he came by his Pardon; if he has it, he will do well to render himself worthy of it, by his Loyalty to our Sovereign and Constitution: But does that Pardon make him Duke of *Powis*? yet not considering that 'tis at the Expence of our Laws, of our Duty to the Queen, our Love to our Country, our Concern for the Revolution and Protestant Succession, every one has nothing in his Mouth but the Duke of *Powis* and the Dukes of *Powis*, we compliment them with Titles that

that have no Foundation but the Patent of a King, who for breaking all our Laws and flying for Protection to our Inveterate Enemy was Abdicated, and his vacant Throne fill'd with our Deliverer. As much as such Particular Things as these look like Trifles, they are worth taking Notice of ; there's no Ceremony due to the Servants or Favourites of the Court of *St. Germain* ; no Homage to be paid to the Authority of a Prince who was no more our King. Such Respect will by degrees use us to look upon other Kingly Acts of his as well as his making of Dukes, as regularly and legally done, and, if so, what have we been all this while doing ? For my Part, I shall never be so well bred as to pay Honours to any Body that claims them by any other Right, since the Revolution, than what was given them by King *William* and Queen *Mary*, or her present Majesty, and every one that pays Honours to Persons claiming them by King *James*'s Right, do it not certainly for their sake, but for the sake of the King that gave 'em to them. There was a Protestant Lord, who follow'd the Fortune of King *James*, and dying under an *Out-lawry*, left his Son just such another Title to Peerage, as the Gentleman before-mention'd has, but the other being now in the true *English* Interest, a good *Britain*, and a good Protestant, is forc'd to be content with the Title the Law gives him, and meets with none of that good

Breeding and Deference which is paid to a Papist and Nonjuror; by which it appears plain enough, that he has this Distinction more on account of his Principles, than his Birth-right. I must own I abhor all Complacency for the avow'd Enemies of our Constitution and of the Protestant Succession.

Very early after the Revolution did this Tenderness to them appear, and People employ'd by the new Government caress'd those that disown'd it, and stuck to the old one. *How reasonable, says an Ingenious Author of those Times, it is to expect this and any other Treachery from the Tories, will appear to those who see them in all Offices daily and publickly drinking King James's Health. Who see one Clerk going to a Non swearing Doctor to take Advice, whether he may serve the Government as a Writing Clerk, without Damnation to his Soul? Yes, replies the Doctor, for thereby you keep out an ill Man, and may serve your Rightful King upon occasion. To see another Clerk valuing himself to his Companions, That his Place, thank God, does not oblige him to take the Oaths to the Government. To see Officers of the greatest Trust in the Admiralty in Club, twice a Week with Mr. Pepys, Mr. Ewers, and other known Jacobites, and from Saturday to Monday constantly being with them Night and Day.*

It is this fatal Lenity and Indulgence to the Enemies of the Revolution that have been

been the occasion of the *Faction's* growing upon us ever since. Our *Incredulity* as to their *Treachery*, and our *Credulity* as to their *Obedience*, have been the Source of all our Misfortunes. Indeed they have not lately been at the Trouble to disguise their *Affection* to the *Pretender*. They make no *Scruple* to assert his *Right*, and if we trust them now, whatever is the *Consequence* of it, we shall not have this to reproach our selves with, that we were *miftaken* in them.

I have in a former Part shewn how Men of these *Complaisant Principles* got first into King *William's* *Favour*, and how they betray'd him before and after he was King. He had not been a Year on the Throne, when the *Cry of the Church in Danger* was bellow'd about by the same *Faction* that had the *Impudence* to revive it in Her present Majesty's Reign. If I were to give an Account and Character of those Men that publish'd the *Memorial* in 1705. and who supported the *Condemn'd Doctor* in 1710. how cou'd I do it better than in the Words of a Treatise call'd, *An Inquiry into the Causes of the late Obstruction of Publick Affairs*, printed in 1691? 'For the last, tho' not the least, Occasion of our Misfortunes, says this Author, we are beholden to a sort of Men from whom we had the least Reason to expect it, I mean the *Disaffected* among the Clergy. 'Tis Pity that any of these *Weeds* that have pester'd our *Paradice* should grow upon

Co-

Consecrated Ground. These Men I ob-
serv'd to be the first that discover'd their
Discontent upon the *New Settlement*.
I wou'd by no means be thought to re-
flect upon the *Church of England*, where-
of I have always profess'd my self a Mem-
ber: A Church that makes so great a
Figure in the *Reformation*. But nothing
is so frequent or pernicious as to mistake
Names for Things. We have been told
what the *Church of England* is in the True
Notion, that it is the *Body of the People*
and *Clergy* together in Communion, un-
der a Discipline and Worship establish'd
by Law: But it has been a Stale Trick
of the *Clergy* in all Times to engross to
themselves the *Name of the Church*; they
have the *Hierarchy*, and in God's Name
let them have it, and let them in God's
Name make right Use of it. The word
Church, as the Matter is now order'd, is
made a *Camelion*, that takes its Comple-
tion, and varies with every Light: With
different Persons it is a different Thing:
With some 'tis King *James*, with others
'tis *Slavery*; with *Bigots*, 'tis *Ceremonies*;
with the *Ambitions* among the *Clergy*, 'tis
the *Exercise of Dominion*. What has
more amus'd us than the *Out-cry* of the
Church's being in Danger: We know who
they were that began the *Peal*: They
were generally the most *Licentious* of the
Clergy, who were under a pannick Fear
of *Reformation*, the only alteration where-
of they could possibly have any Appre-
hension.

hension. Who more transported than this sort of Men upon the Prince of Orange's Appearance? But that was a Transitory Impulse, and vanish'd as soon as they were sensible, that instead of having King *James* deliver'd up into their Management, the Prince was like to fill the Throne.' Those of 'em that pretended to more Conscience than the rest, refus'd to take the Oaths to King *William*, and these were the Men that out of their abundant Zeal for the Church form'd a Schism in it: These made the *New Liturgy*, mention'd in the Second Part: These were the Men, who, as they said in their Prayers, were driven from *Publick Altars* into *Corners and Secret Clasers*, that they might preserve themselves upright in the midst of the corrupted and corrupting Generation. Of these were the *Hick's*, the *Lesley's*, the *Cook's*, the *Snat's*, the *Stacey's*, most of 'em as infamous for their *Morals* as their *Schism* and *Sedition*. To these joyn'd a more wicked Set of Men, *Swearers to the Government*, and *Preachers and Prayers* against it, as your *A—t's*, your *B—t's*, your *M—t—n's*, and your more Modern *S—l's*, *T—p's*, *Hi—n's*, &c. Of this *Faction* were those who not only invited the *French* hither, but insulted the Government that protected them, who laugh'd while *Whitehall* was burning, and like Dr. *D—r*, ruin'd themselves by laying *Wagers* against it, as about the taking or not taking of *Athlone*, *Limerick*, *Mons*, *Namur*, &c. I own I mention this purely

parely to shew the Love of their Country, which appear'd so Gloriously in our *Saxon* Fathers, and which we have been bleſſ'd with by Lucid Intervals only, since the ha-
ted Invasion of the *Normans*.— There's an old *Saxon* Manuscript in the Royal Library at St. James's, wherein there is this re-
markable Passage. In the Wars betwixt Berthern the last King of the South Saxons, and Ine the Eleventh of the West Saxons, the Tower of Chichester, the Capital of the South Saxon Kingdom, came to be besieg'd. During the Siege, which lasted some Months, one of the Inhabitants was accus'd for saying publickly, that if the Enemy were not Masters of the Town before Cratzes, which is sup-
pos'd to have been some *Saxon* Festival, he would give to one of his Neighbours his two Bullocks as a Free Gift. The Man was Arraign'd, Condemn'd and Executed for the Words, as shewing thereby his Love to the Enemy, and his want of Respect to the King.

This is a severe Example, 'tis true, espe-
cially considering the Story does not men-
tion the *South Saxon* had any Correspon-
dence with, or wish'd well to the *West-
Saxons*; and one may imagine it was a rash
Promise arising rather from his *Fears* than
his *Hopes*: But as to our *Murmurers*, their
Correspondence with and their Affection to
the Enemy have been prov'd; their Love
to their Abdicated King, their Hatred
to their *Deliverer*, and a thousand other
Proofs of it shall be given hereafter in
the Course of this History, which not
doubting

doubting of the same kind Reception it has hitherto met with, I intend to continue down to the Year 1710. and have made Collections of suitable Memoirs, not only for the Years to the end of that Period, but even for those that follow, 1710, 1711, 1712, &c. Whether I shall publish that *Busy* Part of my History my self, or whether I shall, for weighty Reasons, leave it to be a *Posthumous* Work, must depend on the good Providence of that God, who has so often, so mercifully, and so wonderfully fav'd us.

F I N I S.

THE
CONTENTS.

A.

Abbyville, Monsieur d', his bad Intelligence, Page 143.
Abdication, the Lords and Commons that voted against it, p. 199, & seq.
Acts of Parliament penn'd by Papists, p. 32.
One rejected with Contempt ibid.
Advice to the Hugonots; a Book so call'd, written by a Pensioner of France, p. 176.
Albemarle, Duke of, his Letter in Answer to the Summons sent him by the Duke of Monmouth, p. 113.
Alost, County of, pretended to by the French, p. 264.
Ambassadors, Dutch, mediate for Madam Mazarine, p. 155.
Armstrong, Sir Thomas, his Account of the poysoning Madam, p. 3.
Arran, Earl of, his Zeal for K. James, p. 147.
Asaph St. Bishop of, inclin'd to Popery, p. 74.
Ashley, Lord, contrives the shutting up the Exchequer, pag. 7. Gets Lord Clifford's Speech about raising Money by heart, and answers it, p. 13. *What the Duke of York said of him, ib. His Speech to Sir Thomas Osborn when he took the Treasurers Oath,* p. 16.

CONTENTS.

p. 16. *Has the Seals taken from him, and how,* *ibid.*

Atkins, *Lord Chief Baron, his Speech against Bishop Laud,* *p. 20.*

B.

Barillon, *Monsieur, his Artifices in England,* *p. 146.* *Cries up the Power of the House of Austria,* *p. 147.*

Bavaria, *Elector of, bred up in the French Interest,* *p. 204.* *Why he left it,* *p. 207.*

Bayle, *Monsieur, suppos'd to be in the French Interest,* *p. 187.* & seq. *King William offended with him,* *p. 191, 192.*

Bishops on the wrong Side to a Man in King Charles II's Time, *p. 29.* *Votes of the Commons against their being concern'd in Capital Cases,* *p. 63.*

Brandenburgh, *Elector of, in League with the French,* *p. 257.*

Bristol, *Earl of, a Papist, his Speech against Popery in the House of Lords,* *p. 14.*

Buckingham, *Duke of, his Speech on his being sent to the Tower by the House of Lords,* *p. 31.* *To the Earl of Shaftsbury when there,* *ibid.*

Bucknal, *Sir William, kick'd for hearkning to what Lord Clifford said about Popery,* *p. 9.*

Butler, *Sir Nicholas, his Falshood,* *p. 31.*

C.

Cann, *Sir Robert, a Betrayer of his Country,* *p. 82.*

Cellier, *Mrs. Her Impudence at the Council Board,* *p. 71.*

Charles II. *King of Spain, his Letter to the Pope against the French King,* *p. 182.*

Charles

CONTENTS.

Charles II. King of England, his saying to Sir Thomas Armstrong, about the poysoning of Madam, p. 3. His Discourse with the Lord Clifford and Council about shutting up the Exchequer, p. 7, 8. What he said of him, p. 13. Costs him a Million to procure a good Peace for France, p. 47. Designs of the Papists to kill him, p. 64, 65. His Merry Discourse with Mrs. Collier, p. 71. His Declaration against Two Parliaments, p. 76. Answer'd, ibid. The Papists Account of his Death, and dying a Papist, p. 114. & seq. The two Papers he left behind him, publish'd by King James, p. 117, & seq.

Church in Danger, an Old Cry, p. 152, 293.

Churchil, Sir John, seiz'd in Westminster-Hall by Sir Edw. Seymour, p. 29.

Churchmen, Staunch, their Practices against King William, p. 293.

Clarendon, Henry Earl of, Votes against him, p. 84.

Claypole, Mr. the Design against him, how prevented, p. 50.

Clergy, why offended at King William, p. 153.

Jacobite, their Correspondence with France, p. 276. 281. & seq.

Clifford, Lord, Steals the Lord Ashley's Project from him to shut up the Exchequer, p. 7. What he said in Council about it, pag. 8. Made Lord Treasurer for it, ib. Lord Ashley too hard for him, p. 13. His saying of King Charles's want of Courage, ib.

Colledge, Stephen, his Tryal and Murder, p. 91. & seq.

Cologn and Mentz, Pretences of the French to those Cities, p. 267

Cornish

CONTENTS

Northampton, his Tryal and Murder, p. 107.
Coventry, Henry Esq; disowns his Embassy to Sweden to break the Triple League, p. 10, 11. What said in Answer to Coll. Birch, p. 11.
Danby, Earl of, gets a Book written against the French King, p. 61. Mr. Powle's Speech against him, ib.
Dangerfield, his Villainous Plot, p. 64. 56. 67. Introd'ed to the King, p. 70.
Denmark, Prince's Anne of, leaves the Court, and goes, p. 145.
Denmark, Prince of, leaves the King, p. 146.
Denmark, King of, a Pensioner of France, p. 257.
Devonshire, Earl of, owns his mounting the Prince of Orange over, p. 144.
Dispensing Power exercis'd by King Charles II. p. 10.
Dissenters persecuted, p. 87. Sham Plots laid on them, p. 64. 89. 90.
Dryden, his Verses on the Popish Plot, p. 49.
Durham, Bishop of, his Letter of Advice to King James, p. 128.

E.
Elections, Committee of, their Partial Votes, p. 42.
Envoy, Spain, order'd to depart the Kingdom, and goes, p. 44.
Essex, Earl of, a Word concerning his Death in the Tower, p. 99.
Evidence suborn'd to destroy Patriots and Protestants, p. 96.
Everard, his Discovery of the Plot of the Irish, p. 165.
Examiner, compar'd with Sir Roger L'Estrange, 84.
Exchequer, the whole Intrigue of shutting it up, p. 7. & seq.
Exclusion Bill set on Foot, p. 72. The Commons vindicate it to the King, p. 83.

F.
Fitz, Sir Heneage, made Lord Chancellor, p. 16.
His fear of missing the Seal, p. 17.

CONTENTS.

Fitzharris's Impeachment hinders the hanging him, p. 89.
France, Despatch of, suspicious that she was not fairly dealt with, p. 209.
France, Princess of, marry'd to the King of Spain, p. 206. Her suspicion of foul Play to make her Barrier, ibid.
France, her growing Greatness address'd against by the Pension Parliament, p. 32.
French Courts direct; that of England, p. 77. Their Intrigues to possess themselves of Savoy, p. 211. & seq. With the Hungarians and Turks, p. 232. & seq.
French King, his imperious way of Treating, p. 45. Speech against him in Parliament, p. 156. Does not use King James well, p. 198. Afraid of King William, p. 199. 203. His Offers of Peace in 1690, and again in 1694. p. 175. 201. What he said on the Elector of Bayaria's quitting his Interest, p. 208. His Quarrel with the Duke of Savoy, p. 222.
Furstenbergh, Prince of, his Treachery, p. 273.

Q.

Germans, the Intrigues of France with them, p. 268 & seq.
Grafton, Duke of, his saying to K. James about French Auxiliaries, p. 143.
Guise, Sir John, disgusted at K. William, and why, p. 158.

H.

Hallifax, George Earl of, Votes against him, p. 84. Again, p. 155.
Hampden, John, Mr. disgusted at King William, and why, p. 158.
Hawkins, Mr. Chaplain of the Tower, his Test on some Lawyers being sent thither, p. 23.
How, John Esq; his Motion for an Address against the Betrayers of Liberty, p. 154. Disgusted, and why, p. 158.
Holland, French Intrigues there, p. 46. 186. 195.
Hungarian Malecontents, their Correspondence with the French, p. 232. & seq.
Hyde, Lawrence Esq; Votes against him, p. 84. I. Jacobites,

CONTENTS.

Frenchies pretend to be for Peace, p. 166. Had
Schemē-makers, p. 168. Their Correspondence with
France, p. 276. 293. Some Men's Complacency to
them, 296.

James II. threatens England after his Abdication, p.
133. His Treaty with the French King on his going
to Ireland, p. 134. His Insolence and Villany, p. 159.

Jefferies, Sir George, a Vore against him, p. 82.

Jenkyns, Sir Lyndell, a Proof of his being in the French
Interest, p. 48.

Indulgence to Dissenters for the sake of the Papists only,
p. 10

Insolent saying of a French Judge, p. 265.

Ireland, the French endeavour to get it, p. 162 & seq.

Isabella, Infanta of Spain, practis'd upon to be made
Barren, p. 207.

Judges, corrupt ones, in King Charles II. Reign, p. 84.

Impeach'd, p. 83. Concern'd in the Trials of Colledge
p. 92. Lord Russel's, p. 97. Colonet Sidney's, p. 101

Alderman Cornish, p. 107.

Juries, Colledge's, p. 92. Lord Russel's, p. 97. Col.
Sidney's, p. 101. Alderman Cornish's, pag. 107.

Oates's two Juries, p. 110. 111.

King's Bench Court of, its Arbitrary Proceedings in King
Charles II's Time, p. 80.

Lancashire Plot a Real one, tho' ridicul'd, p. 288 & seq.

Laud, Archibishop, what King Charles is said of his
Ambition and Cruelty, p. 19.

League, Secret, between King Charles II. and the
French King prov'd further, p. 6.

Liege, presence of the French to it, p. 266.

Leighton, Sir Ellis, betrays the English Merchants to
the French, p. 54.

L'Estrange,

CONTENTS.

L'Estrange, Sir Roger, a warm Speech against him in Parliament, p. 85. What he wrote of seasonable Sheriffs, p. 95.

Lists of Lords that voted for an Address to K. Charles II. to dissolve the Parliament, p. 25. That voted against it, p. 26. That protested, p. 29. Of the Pensioner's Parliament, p. 35, & seq. That protested against the Bishops voting in Capital Cases, p. 62. Of the Lords and Gentlemen that made a Presentment against the Duke of York for not coming to Church, p. 80. Of the Lords that protested against Oates's Judgment, p. 112. Of Lords that voted against the Application, p. 139. Of Commons that did so, ibid. & seq.

London, Citizens of, Sir Roger L'Estrange's saying of them, p. 95.

Luxembourg, Duke of, his Cruelties in Holland, p. 4.

— City of, the weak pretence of the French to it, p. 264.

Macclesfield, Earl of, of a Gallant saying of his to the Duke of Marlborough, p. 151.

Marstein, Treasurer of Poland, his Plot against that King, p. 226.

Mazarine, Duke of, most & against in Parliament by Coll. Birch and the Bishop of Salisbury, p. 155.

Memorial of the Jacobites sent to the Fr. King, p. 278.

Metz, how possess'd by the French, p. 259.

Militia Troop. Captain of, wants a Regiment of Horse, p. 158. Has a much better Place, Vide Part 1st q.

Modena, Princess of, her Portion paid by the French King, p. 15.

Montgomery, Lord, call'd Duke of Powis, p. 294.

Monmouth, Duke of, his Letter of Summons to the Duke of Albemarle, p. 123.

Mulgrave, Earl of, what he says of the French himself, p. 125. His Letter by Dr. Tillotson, p. 128.

Nottingham, Earl of, for the Toleration and Comprehension Bills, p. 152. His Letter to the Duke of Albemarle, p. 152.

Oates's

CONTENTS.

Oates's two Furies, p. 110, 111, His Boldness, 112.
The Lord's Protest against affirming the Judgment
against him, p. 136.

Oath Coronation, King William's, ibid.

Oaths Coronation, alter'd by Dr Laud and Dr Sancroft,
p. 20, 24

Offers of France to King William in 1690, p. 175. To
be compar'd with the last, 194. Offers in 1694, p. 201

Ostee Monsieur, what he said to the Prince of Orange
against the War with France, p. 256

Orange, Prince of, ill us'd by France, p. 267

Orleans, Dutchess of, further Proofs of her being Poy-
soned, p. 5.

Osborn, Sir Thomas, made Lord Treasurer, p. 18

Oxford, Earl of, his Story of Bishop Laud, p. 19. Why
he surviv'd Wm. p. 20

Palatine, Elector, how Infat'd by the French Court,
p. 264

Papists, their great Interest at Court, p. 22. Join with
Tories, p. 49. 75. Their Account of King Charles's
Death, and his dying a Papist, p. 114 & seq.

Parliament Pensionary rise in Confusion, p. 15. Debates
for an Address to dissolve it, p. 24, 25. Prorogued 15
Monks, p. 30. The King Angry with them, p. 34.
their Rises against Pensioners, p. 39. Dissolv'd, p. 55.
Speeches in the next Parliament on the King refusing
their Speaker, p. 57 & seq.

Peace, who always for it, p. 166. The Endeavours of
France to get one soon after the Revolution, p. 169.
p. 170 & seq.

Pensioners in Parliament, a List of them, p. 33. & seq.

Pensions to Parliament Men, a State of them, p. 40. 43.

Plot, the first sham Presbyterian One, p. 66. 68. Ano-
ther, p. 96.

Plot, Popish, Dryden's Version on it, p. 49.

Poland, Prince of, Designs upon him in France, p. 228
& seq.

Powle, Mr. his Speech against the Earl of Danby, p. 61.
Press,

CONTENTS.

Prest, the Long Parliament jealous of its Liberty, p. 32.
Pretender made a Protestant by the Jacobites, p. 153.
Privateers, French, take our Ships in Time of Peace, 53.
Project of Peace, a Book so call'd publish'd by the Court
of France soon after the Revolution, p. 169.
Protests, of Lords that voted for the dissolving the Long
Parliament, p. 27. Against the Bishops voting in Ca-
ses of Blood, p. 63. Against affirming Oare's Judg-
ments, p. 112.

Queen of France, an Account of her Sickness and Death, p. 274 & seq.

R.

Renunciations, French, see what they are, p. 202. 205.
Re-Union, Chambers of, erected by France to encroach
on her Neighbours, p. 259 & seq.
Rhinegrave, how he was insulted by the French, 263.
Rochester, Bishop of, his Letter to the Lords of the High
Commission Court, p. 126.
Russel, Lord, his Tryal and Murder, p. 97 & seq.

Sancroft, Dr. Archbishop of Canterbury, resists King
James, p. 154. Alters the Coronation Oath for him,
p. 135 & seq.

Savoy, Duke of, bred up in the French Interest, p. 211.
A Plot to take his Country from him, ibid. & seq.
Saxons, their Love of their Country, p. 301. An instance
of it, ibid.

Scribere est Agere, when Law to Murder a Man,
Seasonable Sheriffs, by what whom wanted, p. 95.
Seymour, Sir Edward, Speaker of the House of Com-
mons, his Arbitrary Proceeding, p. 34. The King will
not again accept of him as Speaker, p. 59. Impeach'd,
p. 83.

Shaftsbury, Earl of, sent to the Tower by the House of
Lords, p. 31.

Speeches, King William's, made first in French by him-
self, p. 175. Speeches

CONTENTS.

Speeches about King Charles's refusing a Speaker, p. 57.
& seq. A bold One against the Court, p. 73. Against
ill Judges and Counsellors, p. 81. Against the French
King, p. 156
Southwell, Sir Robert, like to be sett'd for a Pitt-
Pocket, p. 52
Strasburgh, how betray'd to the French, p. 250
Studies search'd for Papers, p. 86
Succession, Protestant, propos'd by King William in 1689,
p. 153.
Swedes, Confederates with the French and Turks,
p. 231
Sidney, Coll. his Tryal, p. 101. & seq. His firmness of
Mind, p. 105. His Petition to the King, ibid.

T.

Talbot, Dr. Titular, Archbishop of Dublin, has a
Private Audience of the French King about Ireland,
p. 165
Teckely, Count, his Correspondence with the French,
p. 232 & seq.
Temple, Sir William, in the English Interest, p. 48
Temple, Mr. the Reasons and Circumstances of his
Suicid, p. 147. & seq.
Titus, Coll. his saying to King Charles for neglecting a
ruin'd Cavalier, p. 22.
Tortes, the Rise of 'em, p. 18. Their principles, p. 81
Tools that write for 'em, p. 85. Joyn with the Papists,
p. 87. Their cruel Practices, p. 90 93. Want season-
able Sheriffs, p. 95. Joyn with the Prince of Orange,
and are weary of him, p. 133 136. They prepar'd the
first War, p. 156
Trade with France, our Immense Loss by it. p. 33.
Treaty, King James's private One with the French King
on his going to Ireland, p. 160, 161.
Tulip, Mr. Burgomaster of Amsterdam, binders that
City's yielding to the French, p. 12. Kill'd by the
Guard, ibid.
Turks, the French Intrigues with them, pag. 245
& seq.

Vaudois,



CONTENTS.

V.		
Vaudois, persecuted at the Instances of France,	p. 219	
Vernay, Monsieur du, Envoy of France in Poland,	his Correspondence with Teckely,	p. 233 & seq.
Vitry, Marquis de, his Intrigues in Poland, as Ambassador of France,	p. 227. What a Polish Lord said of him,	<i>ibid.</i>
W.		
Wales, pretended Prince of, further Reasons to believe him an Impostor,	p. 286.	
War, French, who first mov'd it,	p. 156.	
Weston, Judge, his Fury against the Dissenters,	p. 80.	
For Arbitrary Power,	p. 81.	
Whigs, the Rise of 'em, p. 18. The Design of the Papists, &c. to charge 'em with a Sham Riot,	p. 69.	
William III. King, why the Clergy offended at him,	p. 152. His Method of making his Speeches,	p. 157.
Withens, St. Francis, a Betrayer of his Country,	p. 82.	
His Insolence and Cruelty,	p. 108.	
Worcester, Henry Marquis of, Votes against him,	p. 84	
Y.		
York, Duke of, a Presentment against him for not coming to Church,	p. 79.	

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